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# Latin America Report

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18 July 1984

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ERRATUM: In JPRS-LAM-84-075 of 20 June 1984 article  
CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS TO EXPAND ACTIVITIES, p 53, please  
change the term "Christian Democrats" to "Social Christian  
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## DETAILS REPORTED ON MEETING OF LATIN ENERGY MINISTERS

## Review of Discussions

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 13 Jun 84 p 1

[Article by John Babb]

[Text] Energy Ministers of Venezuela, Mexico, Ecuador and Trinidad and Tobago yesterday ended two days of informal talks at the Trinidad Hilton with the hope that the current Persian Gulf conflict would not affect the stability of the international oil market and petroleum prices.

They pointed out that while oil exporters were striving in a responsible way to safeguard supplies and ensure market stability, major consumers were pushing up interest rates. This, they said, resulted in an inequitable situation.

The four Ministers agreed that oil prices, both for light and heavy crudes, should remain at levels which do not result in a decline in their real purchasing power.

In the light of the situation in the Gulf deteriorating, the Energy Minister for Venezuela--a member of OPEC--Dr Arturo Hernandez Grisanti told a news conference at the close of the meeting: "This situation in the Gulf in general is a situation that is very delicate. It worries all countries very much; not only those members of OPEC.

## Market Influence

"If that situation should cause a serious interruption to any great extent, like closing of the Gulf, or a significant reduction in the flow of oil, it would have an influence on the oil market.

"Nevertheless," he added, "I believe that all the OPEC countries--and at least this is the position of Venezuela--are very interested in a stable market, as our communique says. And it is therefore the position of the four countries here.

"So we are not expecting or desiring a quick change in the price levels, because that will contribute to the world economic recovery, which is one of

the strategic objectives which we are pursuing, which OPEC is pursuing and which, I think, all the petroleum exporting countries are pursuing--that is, the guarantee of a stable energy supply at prices which will maintain the external purchasing power of oil and which will allow the industrial economies to revive as a consequence."

Ministers who took part in the four-nation talks were: Dr. Arturo Hernandez Grisanti, Minister of Energy, Venezuela; Snr. Francisco Labastido Ochoa, Minister of Energy, Mines and State Enterprises, Mexico; Snr Gustavo Galindo Velasco, Minister of Energy, Ecuador; and Mr Patrick Manning, Minister of Energy and Natural Resources, Trinidad and Tobago.

This was the third such meeting held between the four countries, each session being held on an informal basis. The group which will hold a fourth informal session in Ecuador, on a date to be announced has labelled itself as the Informal Group of Latin American and Caribbean Oil Exporting Countries (GIP-LACEP).

The first meeting took place in August, 1983, in Puerto La Cruz, Venezuela; the second in November last, in Cancun, Mexico.

At the close yesterday the Ministers, in a communique, expressed satisfaction with what has so far been achieved "through free and frank discussion in an atmosphere of cordiality."

#### Better Understanding

They said that this has enabled them to arrive at a better understanding of current developments on the international oil market.

The meeting took place against the background of important developments which they said had implications for the future of the international oil market. The Persian Gulf conflict was one of the issues discussed.

While agreeing that oil prices for light and heavy crude ought to remain stable, the Ministers undertook an analysis of the role of future markets and the effects these may have on oil producers.

They all expressed the view that the four countries must further develop their capital goods industry and the industry producing petroleum related supplies so as to increase local employment opportunities. This would also stem the outward flow of foreign exchange and generate massive economic surpluses to stimulate social and economic development programmes.

With the vital detailed information phase of their talks completed and technological and productive capacities determined, investment projects, they felt, should be able to maximise local inputs.

Should it be necessary to utilise a quota of imports, they agreed that preference must be given, on a competitive basis, to those countries of the group which possess the capacity to supply them in order that imports should come from within the region.

The Ministers also pledged mutual support and to exchange data on energy conservation, to step up exploitation, quantification and the use of other sources to engender a process of diversification of energy sources.

They agreed that the work of the group should continue in view of the progress achieved in its short life.

#### Venezuelan-Trinidad Clarification

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 13 Jun 84 p 1

[Text] No offer was ever made by the Trinidad and Tobago Government to Venezuela to participate in the operations of the Texaco refinery at Pointe-a-Pierre, Venezuela's Minister of Energy, Dr. Arturo Hernandez Grisanti, told a news conference at the Hilton yesterday.

Dr. Hernandez Grisanti who was in Trinidad for a meeting of the "Group of Four" Latin American and Caribbean oil exporting countries, was referring to a report published locally and taken up by a daily newspaper in Caracas, that the Government of Trinidad and Tobago had offered Venezuela, participation in the Texaco refinery, and that Venezuela had rejected the offer.

"No offer was ever made for Venezuela to have part share in the refinery, which, as I understand it, still belongs to Texaco," declared the Venezuelan Minister.

He said he wanted to clear up this misunderstanding to enable the population of Trinidad and Tobago to understand the situation.

"We have very good relations and we want to strengthen these relations. And all information of this kind," he added, "works against these good relations."

The Trinidad and Tobago Government and Texaco are currently locked in negotiations over the Texaco refinery at Pointe-a-Pierre.

Texaco said it is interested in retaining only 25 percent of the refinery. As a result of this the Government has reportedly been shopping around for a partner in respect of future operations of the refinery. Amoco Trinidad Oil Company was approached but the offer was turned down by the company.

Negotiations on the refinery are due to continue this week.

Asked about the agreement in principle that had been reached between Trinidad and Tobago and Venezuela, for Venezuela to make available, on commercial terms, 20,000 barrels of crude per day for processing locally, the Venezuelan Minister explained that discussions had ended with an agreement in November last year.

#### Mutual Interest

"Then there were certain difficulties which impeded the carrying out of that agreement," he said.

Dr. Hernandez Grisanti added that new discussions were started in April this year and are continuing.

The Venezuelan Minister said that both governments were of the view that the agreement for the sale of Venezuelan petroleum to Trinidad and Tobago must necessarily be of mutual interest to both countries.

In other words, any agreement reached must be beneficial to both countries.

Earlier, the Venezuelan Minister said that the position of his country was to give priority consideration to guaranteeing supplies of crude to the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Nevertheless, each country is a sovereign State and takes its own decision. For that reason, many countries of Latin America and the Caribbean acquire their petroleum from other sources of supply in other parts of the world.

The Venezuelan Energy Minister was at the time replying to a query on whether there was any measure of redress of Latin American imports of crude being obtained from within rather than from outside the region as has been in the past.

Oil production of the four countries that participated in the talks--Venezuela, Ecuador, Mexico and Trinidad and Tobago--amounted in 1982 to 5,000,000 million [as published] barrels a day. But the exports of the four countries are directed primarily towards markets outside the region. On the other hand, Latin American imports are obtained mainly from non-regional countries.

At their first meeting in Puerto La Cruz, in Venezuela, held in August, 1983, the Ministers noted that such facts demonstrated the great possibilities for co-operation among the four regional exporting countries as well as with other countries in the region.

When asked how much progress had been made towards this end, conference chairman, Trinidad and Tobago's Energy Minister, Mr Patrick Manning replied: "The situation is more or less the same. If there has been any redress, this has been marginal."

CSO: 3298/907



## BRAZIL PROPOSES JOINT RUBBER PLANT CONSTRUCTION WITH VENEZUELA

Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 6 Jun 84 p 19

[Text] PETROFLEX, which is a company in the PETROBRAS group, is negotiating with Venezuela's state-owned petroleum firm, PEDEVESA (Petroleos de Venezuela, S.A.), for the establishment of a partnership to build a synthetic rubber plant with a capacity of 50,000 tons per year in that country.

Four PETROFLEX engineers are currently in Caracas with details of the project to present a proposal to the Venezuelans. Company chairman Mauricio Alvarenga said yesterday that PETROFLEX does not propose to make a cash investment to purchase its (minority) interest in the future enterprise. Instead, the idea is to contribute technology, services, and equipment.

## With Argentina

In addition to that negotiation with Venezuela, the firm is also joining in international competition to supply technology for the construction of an MTBE plant in Argentina. MTBE is an antiknock agent for gasoline that replaces tetraethyl lead, a pollutant.

PETROFLEX developed that technology and sold it to COPENE (Northeast Petrochemical Company), which earns \$20 million annually by exporting the product to the United States and Great Britain.

PETROFLEX accounts for 68 percent of the synthetic rubber sold on the domestic market. Last year it sold a total of 153,000 tons, including 33,000 tons for export. This year it expects to sell 170,000 tons, including 45,000 tons abroad. Most of the rubber sold on the domestic market goes into the manufacture of tires, however, and tire exports are also increasing.

Last year, 9 percent of the 20 million tires produced in this country were exported. The figure will rise to 22 percent this year, with the result that foreign exchange earnings from exports of synthetic rubber--both as a raw material and as a component in tires--should be on the order of \$40 million this year.

PETROFLEX has an installed capacity of 185,000 tons per year, and it will produce 170,000 tons in 1984. Alvarenga says: "There is idle capacity all over the world. Worldwide consumption of synthetic rubber totaled 4.6 million tons

in 1983, while there is production capacity of 8 million tons." Even so, PETROFLEX is investing \$98 million in a new plant in Rio Grande do Sul that will begin operating in July 1985. It will produce 40,000 tons (in its first phase--production may be increased later by an additional 40,000 tons).

Alvarenga justifies the investment by explaining that the drop in production in Brazil occurred during the first few months of this year but that the firm has been operating above capacity since May. In addition, world consumption is expected to increase by 3.5 percent annually over the next 5 years, and PETROFLEX is engaged in a big offensive in the United States, where the domestic market alone would absorb everything that the firm currently exports. Alvarenga says: "It is simply a question of marketing."

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CSO: 3342/120

## ADAMS COMMENTS ON AMENDMENT TO PETROLEUM CORPORATION ACT

Bridgetown BARBADOS ADVOCATE in English 23 May 84 p 3

[Text]

Capital works must be undertaken before natural gas could be as widely available to Barbadian households as the supply of the commodity would permit.

This has been pointed out by Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, Mr. Tom Adams.

Piloting a Bill in the House of Assembly yesterday to amend the National Petroleum Corporation Act, 1979, Mr. Adams noted that Barbados did not have the distribution network to bring all the natural gas produced to households.

He said the distribution of natural gas was not only a matter of availability of gas. He said a lot of gas was still flared since the island did not have the distribution network to bring the gas to all houses.

He added that the cost of distribution did not lie only in joining a pipe to the existing network but in expanding the number of customers who could use the gas.

Mr. Adams told the House that he hoped very shortly to see an application from the Barbados National Bank (BNB) for his consent to the lending of a sum of money to the National Petroleum Corporation for the expansion of natural gas facilities.

"We have undertaken decisions and these decisions can only be gauged on commercial principles," the Finance Minister said.

Mr. Adams believed that steps were under way to allow the capital cost of natural gas installation to be charged monthly to subscribers.

The amendment to the National Petroleum Corporation Act sought to incorporate certain provisions of the Gas Works Act, Cap. 279 and the remaining provisions of the Natural Gas Corporation Act, Cap. 280 and to provide for a general manager of the corporation in place of the executive director.

Mr. Adams said it was necessary for the NPC to formally have the power to break up the highway in the course of laying gas mains.

He pointed out also that the management of the NPC was being brought into line with other government corporations and the post of executive director was being changed to that of general manager.

## DOMESTIC OIL PRODUCTION RESULTS IN SAVINGS OF \$200 MILLION

Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 10 Jun 84 p 30

[Article by Terezinha Costa: "Country Saves \$200 Million by Producing 500,000 Barrels Per Day"]

[Text] When the flow indicators installed at the wells in the Campos Basin point to 30,000--which will happen one day at the end of this month--our domestic oil production will have reached the historic level of 500,000 barrels per day, 6 months in advance of the initial target date set by the PETROBRAS [Brazilian Petroleum Corporation]. This earlier date will mean savings totaling approximately \$200 million on oil imports this year.

Current production comes to 470,000 barrels per day. It is impossible to predict the exact date when the remaining 30,000 barrels will have been produced, the production director at PETROBRAS, Joel Mendes Renno, explains. By the end of the month, the enterprise will complete the installation of the equipment which will give it an installed capacity of 500,000 barrels. But the perfect operation of this equipment will depend on St. Peter or, as Renno prefers to say, "proper oceanic-meteorological conditions."

## Threat of Rationing To Be Dispelled

Once the 500,000-barrel-per-day level has been reached, the PETROBRAS efforts will be focused on maintaining it throughout the second half of the year, in order to increase the production average this year. At present, this average is estimated at 465,000 barrels per day. With total consumption of 965,000 barrels per day, PETROBRAS expects that, in order to purchase the remaining 500,000 barrels abroad, the country will have to spend \$6.7 billion this year. This is, therefore, the official estimate of the enterprise. But the imminent achievement of the 500,000-barrel peak and the prospect of maintaining this production during the second half of the year now make it possible to predict that the \$6.7 billion may be reduced to something like \$6.2 billion.

This is still a high figure, without a doubt, but rather encouraging if compared, for example, with what was spent in 1981, when expenditures on oil imports totaled \$10.9 billion.

A cautious man, Renno avoids making predictions for next year. But he says he hopes to reach new production peaks in December, such that PETROBRAS will go into 1985 with a daily production of between 520,000 and 530,000 barrels.

Even the maintenance of the 500,000-barrel level will place Brazil in the enviable position of third-ranking Latin American producer, exceeded only by Mexico (2 million barrels per day) and Venezuela (1.3 to 1.4 million), and ahead of Argentina (480,000).

If the comparison is expanded to the whole of the Western hemisphere, Brazil is the fifth-ranking producer, following the United States, Mexico, Canada and Venezuela, in that order. In addition to this, it will outrank five of the Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries (OPEC) nations--Dubai (340,000 barrels per day), Qatar (289,000), Ecuador (233,000), Gabon (145,000) and Sharjah, one of the United Arab Emirates (50,000).

It is true that these OPEC countries export the greater part of their production, while Brazil is still a heavy importer of oil. But the advance in domestic production, which has practically tripled in the past 5 years, and, to a lesser extent, the reduction in consumption, have reduced Brazilian dependence on imported oil from 85 percent in 1979 to 52 percent at present. This index will drop to 48 percent when the national average reaches 500,000 barrels per day.

"Thanks to the reduction in the extent of our dependence on foreign suppliers, we can face the worsening of the war in the Persian Gulf calmly today," Joel Renno comments.

In fact, the threat of rationing for oil products which hung over Brazilian consumers in 1980, when the war between Iran and Iraq erupted, now seems to have been dispelled for good.

A good portion of these positive figures are due to the generous Campos sea, the most important oil field in Brazil. The 78 wells there currently in operation account for 54 percent of our domestic production, and 80 percent of the production on the Brazilian coast.

In order to achieve new production increases in 1985, PETROBRAS is already planning to develop a third center of production in Campos, the so-called Northeast Pole, with the building of permanent platforms in the Pargo, Carapeba and Vermelho fields, Joel Renno has announced.

In order to support the production increases in the PETROBRAS department that Renno heads, however, another sector of that enterprise will have to double its efforts--the prospecting departments.

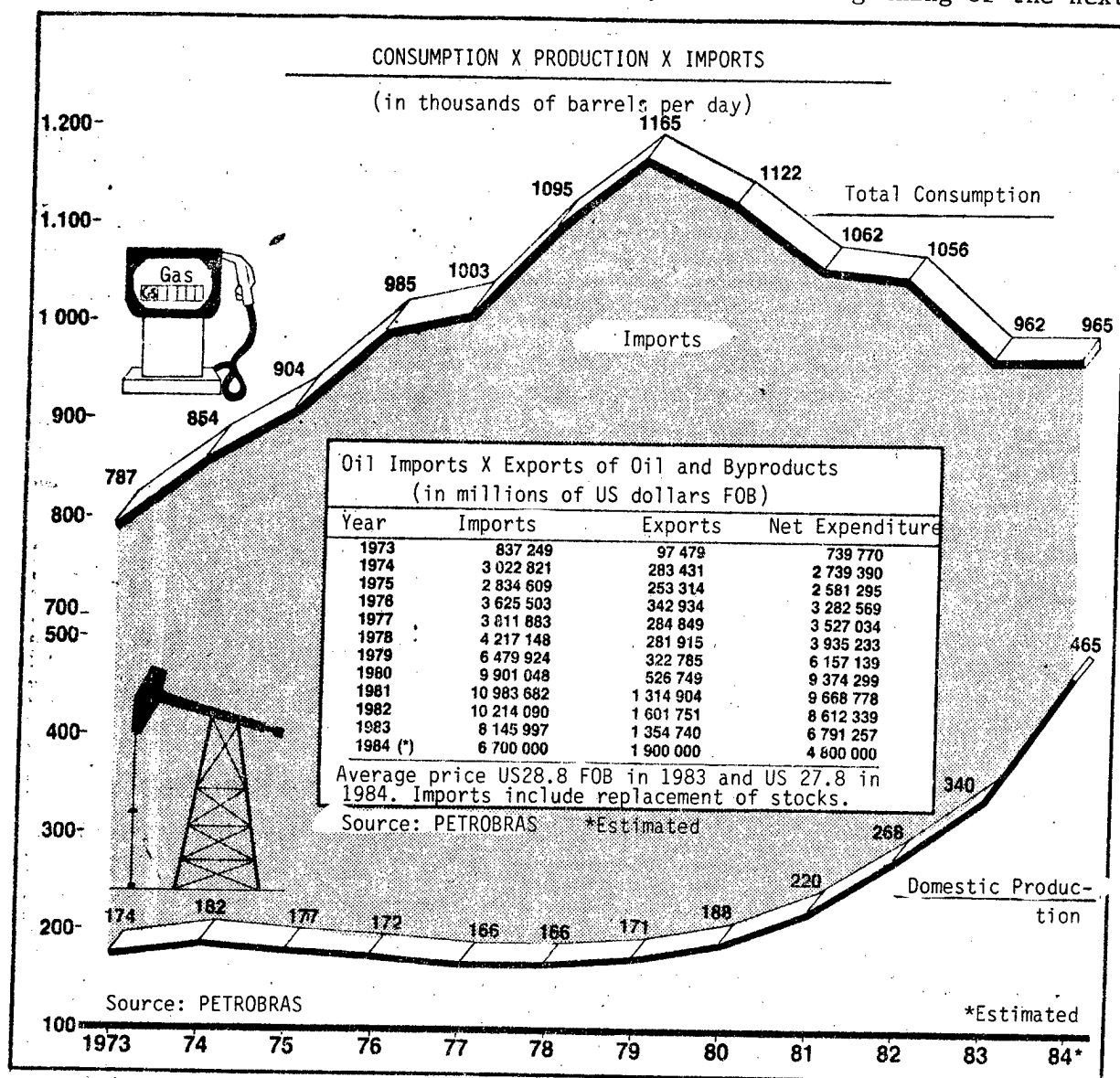
Production must maintain a certain ratio to reserves, such that there are 10 in reserve for each barrel produced. Our domestic reserves today come to about 1.8 billion barrels. When production reaches 500,000 barrels per day, or 180 million barrels per year, the prospecting department at PETROBRAS will have to shoulder the responsibility of finding a minimum of this same figure, 180 million barrels, each year, exclusively to replace reserves.

"This is a very heavy responsibility. But the prospects are promising," the assistant superintendent of interpretation in the prospecting department, Modesto Vitor Dauzacker, says.

He is speaking mainly of the Campos Basin, where prospecting will be undertaken in ever deeper waters and Sergipe, Alagoas, Potiguar/Ceara bays and the Reconcavo da Bahia (lowland area). These regions together, Dauzacker says, will yield 98 percent of all the oil expected to be found for the replacement, and even expansion, of Brazilian reserves this year. "But there are other regions which may hold surprises: the land basin of Espirito Santo and the Bahia Coast, where we are doing intensive geological reinterpreting work," this technician commented.

Over a longer period of time, expectations are focused again on the Santos Basin, where the most recent tests made by the Pecten-Shell consortium, which is operating in this region on a risk contract basis, have confirmed the presence of hydrocarbons.

With the prospects created by this discovery, PETROBRAS, which is engaged in seismic studies in its own areas in the Santos Basin, is scheduled to transfer its drilling rigs there by the end of this year or the beginning of the next.



## OIL PRODUCTION RECORD EXPECTED TO BE REACHED SOON

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 27 Jun 84 p 23

[Text] Rio de Janeiro--Petrobras not only will manage to surpass a daily oil production of 500,000 barrels by the end of this week, but it will be in a position to maintain domestic production at about that volume and increase it during the second half of this year, reaching 525,000 barrels per day.

That is the assertion of the Petrobras production director, engineer Joel Mendes Renno. With 500,000 barrels per day, Brazil will be able to supply 54.8 percent of domestic consumption of petroleum derivatives, now about 911,000 barrels daily. It will thus be in third place in Latin America, surpassed only by the traditional producers, Mexico and Venezuela.

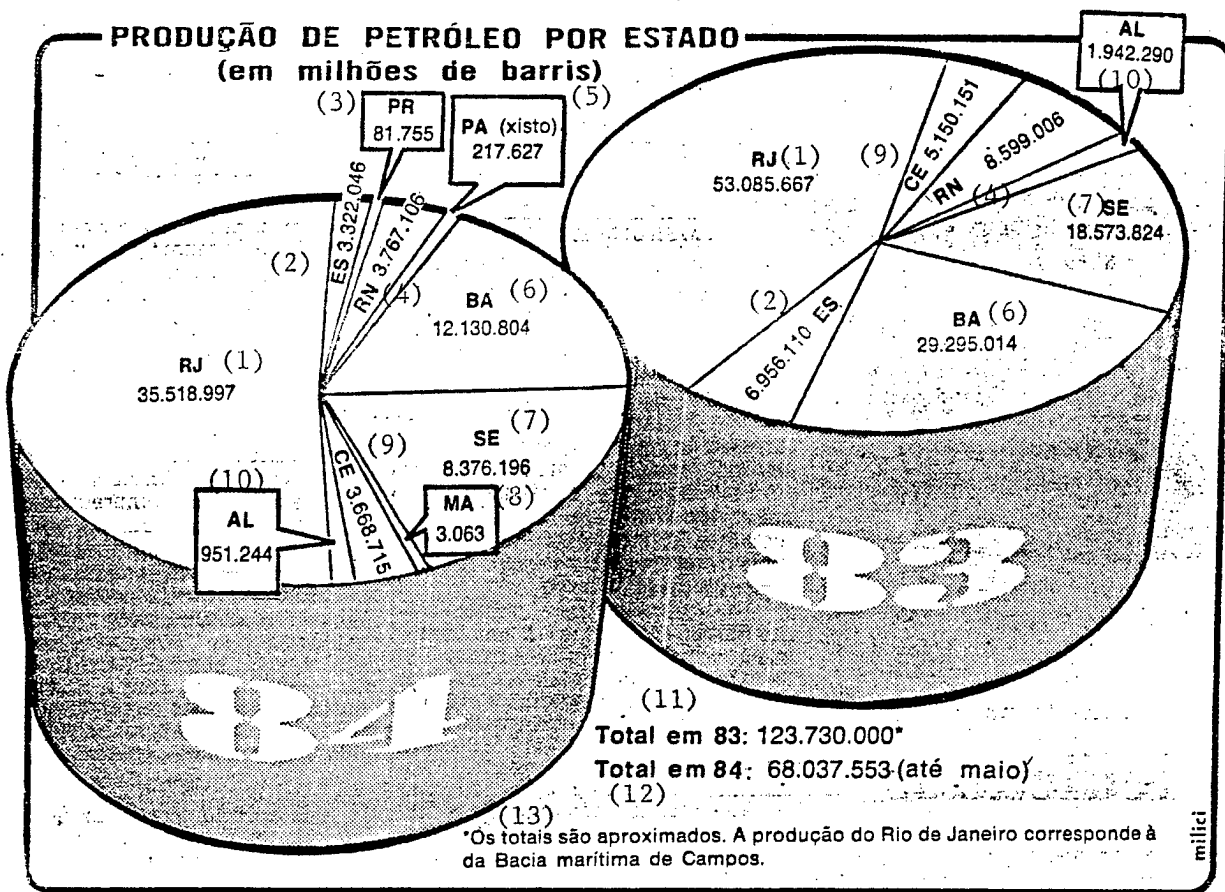
The goal of domestic oil production of 500,000 barrels daily was not planned by the Figueiredo administration until the first half of next year. Due to the higher rate of production from the Campos Basin, currently responsible for 51 percent of domestic production, it first became possible to expect that objective to be met during the second half of this year and now it is being projected for this month.

It is not entirely certain, however, that the goal of 500,000 barrels will be met by this week. Adverse weather conditions in the Campos Basin or strong underwater currents could make a change in the plans of Petrobras, Renno admitted. So far, however, those conditions remain favorable, indicating the possibility of Brazil's reaching that goal within the period now planned by Petrobras.

## Important

For Joel Renno, more important than the historic record of 500,000 barrels daily would be the certainty that this production level could be maintained normally, without any threat of predatory overworking of the wells. The current level of domestic reserves, 1.7 billion barrels, will assure maintenance of that level, and during the second half of the year production will rise even further, probably reaching a daily average of 520,000 barrels by the end of the year.

Better management of operations, greater knowledge of the producing regions, especially the Campos Basin, and application of technological know-how are, among others, the factors responsible for keeping domestic oil production above 500,000 barrels daily from now on, Renno said. Today, moreover, Petrobras technicians



Oil Production, by State (in Millions of Barrels)

Key:

1. Rio de Janeiro
2. Espírito Santo
3. Parana
4. Rio Grande do Norte
5. Para (shale)
6. Bahia
7. Sergipe

8. Maranhao
9. Ceara
10. Alagoas
11. Total in 1983: 123,730,000
12. Total in 1984: 68,037,553 (through May)
13. The totals are approximate. The production of Rio de Janeiro represents that of the offshore Campos Basin.

have a greater store of knowledge about subsoil geology, thanks also to the many dry holes that furnished important information to better guide the exploration effort in the sedimentary basins.

Right now, domestic oil production is about 470,000 barrels daily, although operating capacity is 483,000 barrels. In the Campos Basin, connection of new wells



to preliminary production systems already in operation and increased production from some deposits will add another 20,400 barrels, increasing domestic production to 503,400 barrels of oil daily.

#### Reserves

The Campos Basin still has prospects of new discoveries capable of increasing the nation's recoverable oil reserves, thus assuring increased production. Hence, drilling in that area, discovered in late 1974, is now at depths where the ocean floor is about 400 meters below the surface.

8834

CSO: 3342/126

## INCREASED ELECTRICITY USAGE PROMPTS SUPPLY REEXAMINATION

## ELETROBRAS Expansion Plans

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 20 Jun 84 p 25

[Text] Brasilia--Due to the strong increase in consumption, which is nearing the rates of the "economic miracle" era, ELETROBRAS [Brazilian Electric Power Companies, Inc] is revising its program for supplying the electricity market through the year 2000 (Plan 2000), with a one-third increase in investments during the next 5 years, from 4 trillion to 6 trillion cruzeiros annually, including the entire electrical sector, company president General Costa Cavalcanti announced yesterday.

Total investments in electricity are likely to reach 31 trillion cruzeiros between 1985 and 1989. Annual consumption of electric power, after declining 3 percent in 1981, recovered rapidly, rising 6.5 percent in 1982 and 7.8 percent last year, although economic growth during these 2 years was nil or negative (down 3.4 percent in 1983).

In the latest 12 months from June 1983 through May of this year, national consumption increased 9.3 percent. What concerns General Costa Cavalcanti the most is the figure for the Southeast region, which consumes practically 70 percent of all energy produced nationwide and which increased consumption 8.1 percent between May 1983 and May 1984. An increase of 7 percent per year indicates the need to double the supply of electric power every 10 years.

Within the state of Sao Paulo, the region served by Paulista Light and Power Company had the smallest increase, which even so was 7.3 percent. In Eletropaulo's area, consumption increased 9.1 percent and in that of CESP [Sao Paulo Electric Powerplants, Inc], 9.2 percent. There were increases of 7.9 percent in Rio de Janeiro, 6.9 percent in Minas Gerais and over 15 percent in Espirito Santo.

The other regions of Brazil had the following increases: Northeast, 14 percent; South, 9.6 percent; Center-West, 16 percent, and North, 5.6 percent. At the nationwide level, average increase of electric-power consumption was 9.3 percent during the period. Costa Cavalcanti said that in the month of May national consumption increased faster than the rate of the latest 12 months, reaching 10.2 percent.

At the ELETROBRAS headquarters in Brasilia yesterday, Costa Cavalcanti presided at a special stockholders' meeting which approved an increase in the company's

capital stock from 2.58 trillion cruzeiros to 3.34 trillion cruzeiros, through private subscription of shares worth 760.8 billion cruzeiros.

Caution Advised

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 24 Jul 84 p 3

[Editorial: "Plenty of Power Plants, Not Enough Transmission Lines"]

[Text] The increase of 10.1 percent in consumption of electric power during the month of May stirred the imagination of our administrators, concerned now with resuming construction of large works to meet the growth of an "unpredictable demand." Even General Costa Cavalcanti, president of ELETROBRAS, expressed this concern, proposing a revision of Plan 2000 for supplying electricity. For this reason, the warning of CESP president Professor Jose Goldemberg was very timely, in speaking out against exaggerated concentration of funds in generating stations when what is most important right now is giving priority to transmission and distribution of the energy to be generated by the plants coming into operation.

Itaipu will begin operating for Brazil at the beginning of 1985. Three generators of 720,000 kilowatts each will be installed there annually, providing an increase of 2,160,000 kilowatts every 12 months! Furthermore, as is known, Itaipu will have an operating capacity of 12,000,000 kw...In the North, this very year will see the Tucuruí power plant inaugurated, with 4 million kilowatts, which will greatly strengthen the North-Northeast system.

There are currently 15 hydroelectric plants under construction in the nation, despite the giant Itaipu, which can be considered one of the largest concentrations of investment in this area anywhere in the world. What is lacking is execution of the existing program for constructing transmission and distribution lines, in order to permit consumption of the energy to be generated by the Brazilian system. Professor Goldemberg was particularly apt in recalling that the cost of investment in distribution is much less--\$350 per kilowatt compared with \$1,000 per kilowatt for generation--which would permit considerable expansion of the Brazilian systems with few funds.

There is no greater priority at present than completing the transmission lines from Itaipu, Tucuruí and other power plants, improving the quality and reliability of systems such as those of Furnas [Furnas Electric Powerplants, Inc] and CEMIG [Minas Gerais Electric Powerplants, Inc], to avoid supply problems such as occurred recently in Rio de Janeiro and Belo Horizonte. If there were no other reason, there remains the question of rationality, as there is no sense whatever in concentrating funds in generation without the equivalent effort in transmission and distribution of energy--an error in judgment that has occurred frequently. (The transmission line from Itaipu has not yet been completed...)

At bottom, it seems that the interests of the large construction firms and equipment suppliers, now concerned by the end of the era of large powerplants and huge dams, are once more being served. Seeking to obtain new orders, they use the increased demand for energy--due to conversion to electrothermal power and production for export--as an argument to resume or initiate construction of large powerplants

that will divert funds from priority works of distribution and transmission. It was from this false viewpoint that in 1975 approval of the nuclear program was justified, a program that will cost the nation \$30 billion and that has already absorbed \$4 billion, even though 10 years behind schedule.

Clearly, ELETROBRAS must exercise caution in meeting future demand, if only because we are dependent upon climatic conditions--rain--that could be unfavorable, reducing the generating output of some powerplants. But it cannot forget that, above all, it is necessary to absorb the generating capacity of powerplants such as Itaipu--where \$15 billion were invested--in order to meet the demand of the South-Southeast region at least by the end of the decade! At the very least, there should be plans to conclude by 1987 and 1988 the powerplants already begun at Pontal do Paranapanema (Rosana, Taquarucu, Porto Primavera), as well as Tres Irmaos, the equipment for which was hurriedly bought and in large part is already in Brazil. But the total priority of ELETROBRAS and of the electric-power companies of Brazil should be on investments for transmission and distribution of energy. It is necessary to resist the pressure groups and avoid, for the sake of grandeur, beginning construction of new powerplants that, like Itaipu today, will not have lines to transmit the energy that will be generated.

8834

CSO: 3342/126

## OIL IMPORTS DECLINE TO 400,000 BARRELS PER DAY

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 26 Jun 84 p 35

[Text] Porto Alegre--In Porto Alegre yesterday, Mines and Energy Minister Cesar Cals announced that Brazil's oil imports are still declining and are now only 400,000 barrels per day, compared with 1,000,000 barrels daily in 1981. He further asserted that the nation will spend \$4 billion this year for petroleum, compared with \$12 billion in 1981, as during the last 5 years Petrobras increased its expenditures on petroleum prospecting, exploration and operation from 34.7 percent to 92 percent of its budget.

Of the total of 400,000 barrels daily still imported, 160,000 barrels are bought from Iraq, which is likely to continue furnishing oil to Brazil, despite its war with Iran, because "we buy many products from the Iraqis and we have trade advantages with them," the minister asserted, in announcing that by 30 July domestic oil production will be 600,000 barrels daily, a goal that was not expected to be reached until March of next year. In asserting that "we are on our way to energy independence," he revealed that PROALCOOL [Alcohol Production Program] currently involves 1.2 million vehicles and results in a daily saving of 120,000 barrels of oil.

He recalled that the reduction of the difference between the prices of gasoline and alcohol as of last week, when the latest fuel-price increase occurred, was a decision of the National Energy Commission. That commission, between 1979 and 1980, during the early stages of the program, contended, according to Cesar Cals, that the differential between the two products should be 59 percent, to stimulate purchase of alcohol-powered cars and to cope with the low output at that time. Between 1981 and 1982, when the program went through a phase of low reliability, the percentage went to 41 percent and is now 35 percent, where it "should stay," assures the minister. He excused himself yesterday for the fact that his ministry is responsible for the "figures related to the nation's fuel consumption," but pointed out that SEPLAN [Secretariat of Planning] is responsible for the "figures related to the increased fuel prices."

## Coal

He also told local businessmen and the Rio Grande do Sul mines and energy secretary, Loris Reali, that "coal must be taken out of the government's control in order to use marketing methods and enter the market economy." This advice was to some extent parried by Loris Reali's assertion that a market as strong as that desired by the minister could only be created through government funding to complete the work currently halted in two Rio Grande do Sul mines.

## ASSOCIATION WITH FRENCH FIRM IN METHANOL PRODUCTION PROPOSED

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 20 Jun 84 p 25

[Text] The president of the Electric Power Operators--CESP [Sao Paulo Electric Powerplants, Inc], Eletropaulo and CPFL--Jose Goldemberg, said in Sao Paulo yesterday that he is studying a proposal for associating with the French industrial group Cresot-Loire for producing methanol on an industrial scale in Rio Claro.

According to Goldemberg, Cresot-Loire has a pilot plant for producing methanol from wood by an electrothermal process similar to that developed by CESP in the Corumbatai Power Station, in Rio Claro, although with less energy consumption. "The French pilot unit produces about 1 ton of methanol per hour, whereas that of CESP is now producing only 1 ton per day," the president of the utility group added.

## Cost Decline

The estimated cost of a methanol plant on an industrial scale is between \$20 million and \$30 million and if CESP decides to become associated with Cresot-Loire this cost will be cut in half. Another advantage pointed out by Goldemberg is that if the venture is carried out jointly there is a future possibility of exporting the plans and technology to countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia that have large forest resources.

From 11 through 14 June the president of the state electric-power companies participated in an international seminar in Rome sponsored by the Vatican Pontifical Academy of Sciences. He was also in Switzerland, where he visited the Brown-Boveri Laboratories, which he says are developing technology for producing hydrogen by electrolysis, in which the CESP is also interested.

8834

CSO: 3342/126

## CALS GUARANTEES PRODUCTION OF 500,000 B/D IN JUNE

Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 6 Jun 84 p 19

[Text] Brasilia--Domestic petroleum production will reach 500,000 barrels per day by the end of this month, 6 months ahead of the original target date for achieving that goal (the start of 1985). Minister of Mines and Energy Cesar Cals announced this yesterday to the members of the Mines and Energy Committee of the Chamber of Deputies during a social luncheon.

Minister Cesar Cals emphasized how important it is for the country to achieve the goal of 500,000 barrels per day, since it means that in addition to reducing its foreign exchange expenditures on imported oil, Brazil will thus become Latin America's third-largest producer, with only Mexico and Venezuela producing more. The luncheon was attended by the 33 deputies making up the committee.

During the luncheon, the minister of mines and energy guaranteed the committee members that if Brazil maintains its rate of production at current levels, it will be self-sufficient in petroleum at the start of the 1990's. The minister also emphasized that the industry is also making every effort to achieve technological autonomy.

Deputy Prisco Viana (Social Democratic Party, Bahia), who is chairman of the committee, expressed appreciation for the efforts by Minister Cesar Cals and emphasized that his main challenge--petroleum--had been met. He said the committee would continue firmly with its intention to promote debate and bring up problems, thus contributing to a strengthening of the mining and energy sectors, because it is convinced that the country is indeed achieving success with its sectoral policy.

11798

CSO: 3342/120

## CURRENT OIL PURCHASES FROM IRAQ MAY BE INCREASED

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 14 Jun 84 p 31

[Text] Brazil may increase its petroleum purchases from Iraq (currently totaling about 160,000 barrels per day), but in return, Iraq will have to increase its imports of Brazilian products and thus align itself with the policy already adopted with respect to the other petroleum-supplying countries. This was announced yesterday by Carlos Sant'Anna, marketing manager of PETROBRAS, who is currently acting chairman of the firm.

That is the main demand that will be presented to Iraq's minister of oil, Qasim Ahmad Taqi, who is scheduled to arrive this morning. He will meet this afternoon with the entire PETROBRAS board of directors and the Marketing Department's representatives in charge of petroleum imports. Tomorrow the Iraqi minister will be the guest at a luncheon given by Minister of Mines and Energy Cesar Cals. The luncheon will also be attended by managers from Volkswagen of Brazil, ENGESA [Specialized Engineers, Inc.] (armaments), AVIBRAS (rockets), the IAA (Sugar and Alcohol Institute), the Rio Doce Valley Company, and CONFAB (tubing for the petroleum industry).

Iraq is currently Brazil's largest petroleum supplier despite the war with Iran. Its oil is shipped through a pipeline that crosses Turkey and ends at a terminal on the Mediterranean Sea, thus protecting export shipments from the bombing that is concentrated in the Persian Gulf. Brazilian imports of Iraqi oil cost about \$2 billion in 1983. The PETROBRAS objective now is to persuade Iraq to import Brazilian goods worth at least 20 or 30 percent of that amount. In other words, it would purchase goods worth between \$400 million and \$600 million.

Manager Carlos Sant'Anna of PETROBRAS explained that in recent contacts between him and Iraqi Government authorities, he felt there was willingness to agree to the request for imports of Brazilian products to offset petroleum purchases. That will be a basic condition for the purchase of additional quantities of Iraqi oil, said Sant'Anna.

11798

CSO: 3342/120



## REESTABLISHMENT OF BRAZILIAN RELATIONS WITH CUBA DISCUSSED

Brasilia CORREIO BRAZILIENSE in Portuguese 30 May 84 p 10

[Article by Jose Natal]

[Text] It will not happen tomorrow, it may not happen on Thursday, and it very probably will not happen before this half of the year is up. What we are talking about is a reconsideration by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber of Deputies of a motion by Deputy Marcio Santilli (PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement Party], Sao Paulo) concerning the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Brazil and Cuba. The committee will meet today and tomorrow, but the matter is not on the agenda.

Deputy Francisco Benjamim (PDS [Social Democratic Party], Bahia) is reporter for the topic. In his first report, submitted to the committee on 17 May, he explained that "the matter cannot be the object of a motion" because that would be against the rules. According to him, it is not appropriate for the Foreign Affairs Committee to express an opinion on the subject. His suggestion was that Santilli's proposal be sent to the Constitution and Justice Committee to be dealt with there. His argument was rejected.

Francisco Benjamim, who told CORREIO BRAZILIENSE that "I don't work under pressure," said that he had not yet received any feedback on his first statement and that not until that happens will it be possible to decide when to reconsider the motion. The deputy also said that so far, he has received no instructions from the leadership of his party (the PDS) as to how he should handle the matter. He said: "This case is very serious, and before expressing any opinion on the subject, I want to make a thorough study of everything related to it." The Bahia congressman said that in theory, it is more than fair and logical that Brazil should reestablish relations with Cuba. But since that has not yet happened, there must be a reason why the Brazilian Government is maintaining its stand. He said: "I do not yet have a definite position; I cannot give the committee information that is still incomplete." In his opinion, there cannot be a simplistic determination of this matter--the decision must be well founded.

Although his main argument in saying that the topic is not appropriate for the committee has to do with the rules of the Chamber of Deputies itself, Deputy Francisco Benjamim says that since his first opinion was rejected by the opposition, the matter will continue to be considered by the Foreign Affairs

Committee. Now the deputy will really have to look into the merits of the case. In other words, he will have to come up with a definite opinion and take a stand either for or against the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Brazil and the Republic of Cuba.

A source in the PDS who is also a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee told CORREIO BRAZILIENSE that the reporter's stand in this case is a delicate matter because some congressmen in the PDS itself have already said they favor approval of Deputy Marcio Santilli's motion. According to that source, Francisco Benjamim, as deputy leader of the PDS, will logically have to adopt a stand whose consequences must be carefully weighed. The same source also says that at certain periods, the chairman of the Justice Committee himself, Pedro Colin (PDS, Santa Catarina), reportedly would have expressed support for the reestablishment of relations between Brazil and Cuba. The source emphasizes, however, that the deputy himself has never confirmed that report.

"It is hard for us to understand why, for over two decades, Brazil has continued a discriminatory policy in relation to Cuba, which, like us, is an undeveloped nation. We have many interests in common as regards relations with the world powers and the contradiction between North and South in international politics."

Deputy Marcio Santilli is so definite and certain about the above, which appears in the second paragraph of his motion, that he feels that if a normal vote were taken, "with no trickery in the plenary session," his motion would easily win approval in the Chamber of Deputies. In his opinion, "the motion was well received by many on the Foreign Affairs Committee, and even several deputies in the PDS have expressed themselves in favor of the proposal." Repeating what he said in his motion, Santilli explains that Brazil's commercial interests in Cuba are innumerable. He says that industry, cultural background, similar origins, and a series of historical events also link the two countries. He also says that restored relations might provide an outlet for exports of our surplus production, including even manufactured goods.

Discussing the current status of his proposal to the committee, the Sao Paulo deputy says he is awaiting Deputy Francisco Benjamim's opinion with logical expectations. "I understand his position, but I know that within the PDS itself, there are many congressmen who approve of the motion, and because of that, I am optimistic that it will be accepted."

11798

CSO: 3342/119

TRINIDAD'S ROLE IN POSTPONEMENT OF CARICOM MEETING EYED

Minister's Remarks

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 14 Jun 84 p 1

[Text] Senator Anthony Jacelon, Minister in the Ministry of Finance, said yesterday he was not aware of any request to the Trinidad and Tobago Government to lend money to the multilateral clearing facility "to get it going again."

He was asked to comment on an Associated Press report that a Caricom Finance Ministers meeting scheduled for Barbados on Tuesday did not come off because of lack of a quorum.

Nine members were needed for a quorum, but only eight attended. Trinidad and Tobago was not present.

Senator Jacelon said that Trinidad and Tobago did not deliberately stay away from the meeting.

He said a Telex message reached his desk on June 6 informing about the meeting, but it was too late for anybody of the "correct level to attend."

The AP report from Bridgetown yesterday stated that a Caricom Finance Ministers meeting there was scrubbed for lack of a quorum.

Reached Ceiling

The ministers were to discuss reviving the multilateral clearing facility, suspended last year because it reached its \$100 million (U.S.) debt ceiling, mainly because of debts owed by Guyana. Barbados, meanwhile, is owed \$65 million (U.S.) by the regional loan facility.

Only eight of 13 Caribbean Community members had representatives present at the meeting, nine were needed.

The report added:

The key missing member was Trinidad and Tobago, which Barbados is counting on to loan money to the facility to get it going again.

Also missing were Dominica, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis and Belize.

The meeting was carefully structured around the attendance of certain people and as in human affairs sometimes happens, one of those people was prevented by a last-minute emergency from attending, said Tom Adams, Barbados Prime Minister and Finance Minister.

The officials indicated they would hold the meeting during the July 4-7 Caricom Heads of State summit in the Bahamas.

The Barbados meeting had been hurriedly arranged, the report stated.

#### Criticism From Barbados

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 15 Jun 84 p 5

[Text] Bridgetown, Thurs: (CANA)--Barbados' two daily papers today criticised the Trinidad and Tobago Government's failure to send a representative to the Caribbean Community (Caricom) Finance Ministers meeting which had to be postponed last Tuesday because not enough countries were represented.

The NATION said, in an editorial, that the Trinidadians could hardly have had engagements elsewhere "which could be so demanding as to keep them away" from the meeting here.

The paper said the Trinidad Government's absence showed the same "stiff attitude" it had to other Caricom member countries, which was reflected in "the recall of its High Commissioner (from Barbados) and closure of its market to Barbadian goods.

The BARBADOS ADVOCATE NEWS took a similar line. "In typical West Indian cricketing parlance, the Trinidadians seem to be behaving like a player who is sulking for bowling," the paper said in an editorial.

"Trinidad and Tobago would have known that by not attending the meeting either by sending its Finance Minister or an alternative it would have been making it most difficult for the session to have done anything positive about the CMCF (Caricom Multilateral Clearing Facility), at least at that time," the paper said.

It added: "but then, Trinidad and Tobago's behaviour has in recent months been strange, to say the least."

The paper said some people in Trinidad and Tobago were "trying their utmost to give the impression to other Trinidadians that the rest, or at least most, of the remaining English-speaking Caribbean is making life awkward for their country."

CSO: 3298/908

## GUYANA NOTES CARACAS' DENIAL OF ESSEQUIBO REGISTRATION

Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 22 May 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] Caracas, (IPS)--Venezuela denied yesterday it plans to register residents of Essequibo for upcoming Municipal Elections.

Mention of such a plan came from Humberto Malo Negrete, Documentation Chief for the Supreme Electoral Council (CSE), who said Wednesday that Essequibo residents would receive documents allowing them to vote in Venezuela's Municipal Elections on May 27.

According to Malo, the Venezuelan Government would send mobile units across the border with military guards to register Guyanese, under an old plan which was never implemented.

But Interior Minister, Octavio Lepage and Foreign Minister, Isidro Morales Paul denied that there is any such plan, and said that Malo had no authority to announce one.

Malo is responsible for overseeing voter registration, in his role as a CSE official.

Morales noted that Venezuela's effort to have the Essequibo Region, which is about five-eighths of Guyana's total territory, is still ruled by the 1966 Geneva Accord.

Under the Accord which Britain, Guyana and Venezuela signed in Geneva in 1966, the Essequibo dispute was to go before the United Nations if the two conflicting parties could not resolve it.

A protocol signed in 1970 froze the Venezuelan action for 12 years, but Caracas refused to extend that argument in 1982. And last year Guyana and Venezuela agreed to put the matter before UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

When an Essequibo resident requests Venezuelan citizenship, officials usually grant it. But until this week, no Venezuelan official had proposed a general documentation campaign in the territory, which is legally Guyanese.

Malo told IPS Wednesday that Venezuela had the legal obligation to identify its citizens, and that if Venezuela claims the Essequibo Region as Venezuelan

territory, it followed that the Government should go in and register the residents there.

Foreign Minister Morales responded that Venezuela's Foreign policy is in President Jaime Lusinchi's and his hands.

Malo is a member of the COPEI Socialist Christian Party, the main opposition group.

CSO: 3298/908

## CARICOM LEADER COMMENTS ON CURRENT TRADE PROBLEMS

## Interview With NATION

Bridgetown THE WEEKEND NATION in English 25-26 May 84 pp 20-21

[Text]

**IT would be the under-statement of the year to say that the CARICOM integration movement is going through a rough patch.**

The CARICOM Multilateral Clearing Facility has collapsed under the weight of the debt owed to Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago by Guyana and Jamaica in particular; some member-states have deliberately blocked the flow of goods into their markets; another group of nations can't get out from under a foreign exchange crisis; and suspicions are increasing that the rules of origin are being abused.

It is against that background that the Secretary-General of CARICOM, Mr. Roderick Rainford, and members of the staff of the Secretariat in Georgetown are preparing for the extraordinary meeting of the Council of Ministers and for the Heads of Government Conference in the Bahamas.

And it was with those headaches in mind, the Secretary-General sat down with our North American editor, Tony Best, in St. Lucia the other day and discussed the issues facing the region. What follows is an edited version of that conversation.

**WEEKEND NATION:** You are preparing for a CARICOM Summit conference. But at the same time we notice that things are not going well within CARICOM and for the integration movement. What is your perspective?

**RAINFORD:** My perspective is that basically the integration movement is still on course but that all is not rosy. There are some very deep and troubling problems which have to be addressed and I would say, and some people would be surprised at this, that I have never seen the issue of Grenada as being the troubling problem in CARICOM.

It was a passing crisis and I have always said that it would pass. I have been proven right.

**WEEKEND NATION:** What then is the underlying problem within CARICOM?

**RAINFORD:** The underlying problem in the regional integration movement for sometime now has been the issue of the integrity of the common market free trade regime. This has gone through some very troubling times, from almost the outset.

In the earlier times these were problems that everyone expected. Since early 1983, or a little before that, the nature of the crisis which the inter-regional regime has been facing has taken a very serious turn for the worst.

I think that ministers have come to recognise this. The CARICOM Council of Ministers in January in recognition of this fact agreed to meet again in extraordinary session to try and resolve the problem so that intra-regional trade can be restored to former levels of health.

**WEEKEND NATION:** When the Council of Ministers meet before the Summit, what issues will be placed on the table for resolution?

**RAINFORD:** The issues are at the level of access to regional markets; the various restrictions that operate; the problems of payment with the collapse of the CARICOM Multilateral Clearing Facility (CMCF); and exchange rate movements in the multilateral trading arrangements.

In addition, there is the issue of the rules of origin. There is definitely a crisis of payments of the CMCF which must be resolved. I must point out that the solution of any one of these problems will not be sufficient, all of them must be tackled together.

Hopefully, when the ministers meet in extra-ordinary session we would come out of that meeting with a clear indication of movement towards a resolution of these problems.

**WEEKEND NATION:** Let's take the collapse of the CMCF as an issue. One minister said recently there is a way out of the crisis. First, the debts be rescheduled and, second, some of the stronger central banks in the Caribbean should put new money into the facility. How do you respond to that proposal?

**RAINFORD:** I would say not only is there a way out of the current crisis or impasse we have with the CMCF, but from a purely technical point of view, there are many ways out of it.

The critical thing is to get a consensus on a package and to put the political will behind a strategy or a formula which would be followed up in terms of implementation.

Let me say this, a resolution of the CMCF problem may not necessarily mean the resuscitation of the CMCF itself. It could mean some other type of mechanism or some other form of machinery combined with the CMCF.

All of these options are aimed at one thing, that is getting trade to move within the region against a background of very scarce foreign exchange resources which limit the capacity of member-states to trade on a cash basis.

**WEEKEND NATION:** Quite recently we heard that efforts to secure financial assistance for the CMCF from international sources had not been successful. What is the status of those efforts?

**RAINFORD:** Let me clarify that matter. We should see the problems relating to CMCF at two levels. First of all, there is an immediate short-term problem of getting the facility or a CMCF-type mechanism re-established and functioning early.

The intention to seek external assistance did not in fact relate to that short-term dimension.

The other approach is a long-term one. We would like to have a facility related to the CMCF, whether as an organised part of it or not. It is quite possible that it would be outside of the CMCF itself but related to it. It would be in the nature of a stabilisation fund.

It was in relation to the fund that there was the decision to explore the possibilities of getting outside external assistance for that facility.

The first step that was to be taken was that the concept would be raised at the level of principle at the recent meeting of the Caribbean Group for Cooperation and Economic Development. We did in fact table the matter in general terms at the last meeting of the group in Washington.

We had discussions and various members of the donor community aired various views, expressed concerns and voiced misgivings of one sort or another. The matter remains on the agenda of the group, awaiting a more detailed and technical proposal.

**WEEKEND NATION:** Would you care to predict what the ultimate outcome would be in terms of securing assistance for the stabilisation fund?

**RAINFORD:** It would be hard to predict what would be the ultimate outcome. But there is perhaps much ferment within the Caribbean itself about the idea and here the Central Bank technicians and governors will have a major role to play.

**WEEKEND NATION:** At the outset I asked about the Summit. Let's return to it. What are the priority issues that would be discussed there?

**RAINFORD:** We expect that at the Summit, the Heads of Government will be following up on their decision in Port-of-Spain last July on the question of a study on the matter of structural adjustment in the region.

This study is almost completed and, as you will recall, the mandate of the Heads of Government was for the Caribbean Development Bank, in collaboration with the Secretariat, to work on this study.

And so, the recommendations emanating from the study are to be placed before the Heads of Government. I will expect that is going to be a major issue.



We will also expect that the question of a common protective policy for the production and trade in fresh agricultural products will be another critical issue.

Basically, we expect that economic issues would dominate the meeting.

**WEEKEND NATION:** Some countries in the Caribbean have been accused of breaking a fundamental rule governing the flow of goods within the region. They have been accused of importing goods from the Far East and then relabelling them to make them appear as if they were manufactured in the Caribbean. What is CARICOM Secretariat doing about those allegations?

**RAINFORD:** We are all very concerned about the suspicions and the allegations. As would be appreciated it is very difficult to deal with any situation that is based on suspicion and emotion.

Since last September when the Ministers of Finance met and agreed that we should establish a regional surveillance committee we have been following up on that recommendation. We see that new institutional innovation as having considerable potential for alleviating the suspicion. Once it gets the confidence of member-states we can proceed on a much more assured basis.

### Comments on PERSPECTIVE

Bridgetown THE NATION in English 30 May 84 p 13

[Text]

GEORGETOWN, Guyana — Caribbean Community Secretary General Roderick Rainford is looking to next July's fifth CARICOM Heads of Government Summit to produce the corrective response to the serious problems facing intra-regional trade — centre-piece of the 13-nation integration movement.

His comment came in the latest edition of **CARICOM Perspective**, published by the Caribbean Community Secretariat here.

The Jamaican economist, who last September took over as CARICOM's chief civil servant, called the crisis in intra-regional trading "grave and deeply rooted".

But Mr. Rainford said it was not beyond the political capacity and technical ingenuity of CARICOM policy makers to produce the necessary response to the nagging problems by the time the heads meet July 4-7 in Nassau, Bahamas.

Following is the text of the Secretary General's comments:

"As we go to press with the 24th issue of **CARICOM Perspective**, we note with thankful satisfaction, that the dark clouds of political controversy over the intervention in Grenada last October continue to recede.

#### CRISIS PERSISTS

"But even as political tempers over Grenada continue to cool,

however, the grave and more deeply rooted crisis in intra-regional trade ominously persists. The centre-piece of the integration movement — the intra-regional free trade regime — continues to face the severest test ever of its capacity to survive and flourish.

"It is well known that, in large measure, the crisis stems from the severe balance-of-payments constraints that seem to have become an endemic and structural feature of the economies of CARICOM member states.

"The consequent tight foreign exchange position of member states generated problems in the area of payments, and triggered the establishment of restrictive and protective measures.

"Action on exchange rates by individual member countries has also been a complicating factor. Strong reservations have been expressed, as well, on the fidelity with which the rules of origin requirements are being observed.

"The stark reality is that not only has the impact of these developments led to a marked decline in the real level of intra-regional trade in the recent past, with negative social and economic consequences in almost every member state, but also that continued absence of an effective collective response hangs like the 'sword of Damocles' over even the reduced level of CARICOM trade that is

currently taking place.

"But as regional governments, individually and collectively, as well as the regional public at large — for CARICOM is not a matter only for officials — face up to the difficult challenges of the moment in intra-regional trade, we should bear in mind that the integration movement was not established to function only as a fair weather arrangement.

"The CARICOM integration process cannot rationally be conceived as anything but a collective development strategy for all seasons, and it is particularly in times of difficulty that its *raison d'être* is most compelling.

"There should be no doubt that we have the capacity in the Caribbean Community to respond creatively to challenges that confront the integration movement from time to time. That capacity has been demonstrated on more than one occasion in the past.

"Within CARICOM, for instance, there was an effective response, through the creation and operation of the CARICOM Multilateral Clearing Facility (CMCF), to the intra-regional payments problems that arose from the foreign exchange constraints of member states.

#### TRADE FLOWS

"The CMCF contributed, in no

small way, to the maintenance of intra-regional trade flows up to the time when its operations were suspended early last year. That suspension, which need not be either fatal or final, is an integral part of the current challenge which now faces CARICOM, and which calls for a collective response.

"It is not beyond the political capacity or the technical ingenuity of the policy makers and the officials who administer CARICOM, to produce that response. In the period leading up to the fifth meeting of the Conference of Heads of Government in Nassau, in July, CARICOM ministers will be seeking to do precisely that.

"The whole region should go forward into this process with positive expectations that a workable strategy for saving the day for CARICOM intra-regional trade will be found." (CANA)

CSO: 3298/915

## BARBADOS WARNS REGION AGAINST NORTH'S NEGATIVE TV IMPACT

Bridgetown BARBADOS ADVOCATE in English 6 Jun 84 p 1

[Text]

Barbados' Director of Communications Peter Simmons has warned against the negative impact of too much North American television programming in the Caribbean and charged regional journalists to play a role in "saving us from what could become a schizoid state of existence."

Simmons spoke at the opening Monday of a four-day workshop for a group of radio journalists recently appointed to work for the Caribbean News Agency (CANA) broadcast news service which begins operations on June 25.

"In my view," said Simmons, "indiscriminate exposure to the footprints of communications satellites spewing out an endless sludge of North American programming could skew our concept of reality and challenge our Caribbeanness."

The radio service is part of a major development programme for the Barbados based agency, undertaken with assistance from UNESCO.

The workshop was designed to let the new CANA correspondents meet headquarters staff and see the studio facility at a newly-renovated headquarters at Beckles Road, St. Michael.

Simmons is an anthropologist, former deputy permanent representative to the U.N. and a former newspaper

journalist.

"The benefits of modern communications, disseminating absorbing information and entertaining originating in North America, will be accompanied by a number of disbenefits which can dramatically cut us off from the communities in which we live, alter our life styles, social aspirations and economic patterns," Simmons said.

"Let me hasten to say," he continued, "that as communicators we should avoid promoting parochial and narrow chauvinistic attitudes in our desire to protect our cultural identity."

"That would be harmful to interdependence," the communications director said.

"Your role is clear. It is to help us to protect ourselves and to maintain a balance. To a large extent you will have a significant say in the process of how much we know about ourselves, and, how we perceive ourselves, our societies and our cultures," Simmons added.

UNESCO and the West German Government are assisting CANA improve its technical and human resources infrastructure with a project costing US\$1.2 million.

Head of the broadcast service, whose establishment is part of the project, is Jamaican broadcaster Hugh Crosskill.

## BARBADOS PLANS TO ESTABLISH MISSION IN GRENADA

Bridgetown THE NATION in English 29 May 84 p 1

[Article by Gerry Harewood]

[Text]

A BARBADIAN mission is to be established in Grenada next month.

It will initially have a first secretary in charge, but later, Government hopes to appoint a high commissioner to the Spice Isle who will be responsible for Grenada and the Eastern Caribbean states.

This was one of the plans the Ministry of Foreign Affairs revealed yesterday by the Minister, Mr. Louis Tull, in a NATION interview.

The minister also confirmed that Government was planning to appoint an ambassador to Venezuela and hoped to have that person in place by July 1.

Mr. Orlando Marville is currently serving as the Barbados representative in Venezuela.

It is reported that career diplomat, Mr. Ruall Harris, will be posted as ambassador to Brussels, replacing Mr. Oliver Jackman.

Mr. Tull said yesterday that Mr. Jackman had asked to return to Barbados and to be assigned to any part of the Civil Service befitting his seniority and experience. No decision has been made as to where Mr. Jackman will be posted, but his request will be honoured.

Mr. Jackman is scheduled to return to Barbados in August.

Mr. Tull also said that while the country already had strong missions in Washington and New York, it had been proposed to strengthen even further the office in Washington by the appointment of a commercial attache.

That officer will have responsibility for a number of matters, including the implications of things like the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI).

The appointee will be a senior officer and will be named "soon" the Minister said.

CSO: 3298/915

## BRIEFS

EEC EXPORT ASSISTANCE--A small vessel cargo shipping service between the Eastern Caribbean, Trinidad and Barbados is to be launched soon under the auspices of the European Economic Community (EEC). Mr Joannes Ter Haar, EEC Commission delegate to Barbados and the Eastern Caribbean, spoke of the new service to members of an Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) trade mission at the Holiday Inn Hotel yesterday. He said the service would be on an experimental basis at first, and it was hoped that the ship, some 150 tons, with refrigeration and general cargo facilities, would provide "a low cost but reliable weekly inter-island service commensurate with prevailing cargo volumes in the sub-region, including perishable agricultural products." Mr Ter Haar also told the trade mission that a preliminary proposal for the establishment of the East Caribbean Export Development Agency had been submitted to the EEC. He said there would be a few who would question the importance of Caribbean manufacturers being able to maximise economies of scale through the Caricom free trading area not only to survive, but also to expand and prosper. He noted that it was partly for that reason that the EEC had responded to the Caricom request to finance a regional trade promotion project, approved in 1982 with a financial allocation of \$3 million. [Excerpts] [Bridgetown THE NATION in English 5 Jun 84 p 1]

BARBADIAN WANTED IN GRENADA--Until Barbadian attorney-at-law, Mr Bobby Clarke, receives an official letter or statement, from the Commissioner of Police in Barbados or his counterpart in Grenada, he will remain tightlipped on reports that he is wanted for questioning in Grenada. Speaking to THE NATION yesterday from his Tudor Street, Bridgetown chambers, Mr Clarke said he was at a loss over what was actually happening and would only make a reply to an official statement. It was reported last Thursday that he was wanted for questioning by the Grenadian police in connection with his role as adviser to the ousted People's Revolutionary Government (PRG). The CARIBBEAN NEWS AGENCY (CANA) report quoted interim head, Mr Nicholas Brathwaite, as making the disclosure, and stated that he was expected to discuss the matter with Prime Minister Tom Adams. [Text] [Bridgetown THE NATION in English 5 Jun 84 p 1]

CALL FOR CRIME CENTER--A desk should be established at the Caricom Secretariat to monitor and coordinate the efforts of member countries in their fight against international crimes. This was one of three recommendations made by Assistant Commissioner of Police Mr Charles Lunn in a paper presented at the fifth Interpol Caribbean-Central American conference now taking place in

Barbados. He also suggested that the conference invite the General Assembly to explore the possibility of having Governments enact legislation which would ensure the identity of the person posting or shipping any parcel or package in any state or country by identifying the parcel or package to that person. He also advised that the conference request Governments of the region to investigate more thoroughly persons applying for travel documents (visas) who have been identified with drug trafficking and to urgently set up equipment for determining the genuineness of documents produced at ports. [Text] [Bridgetown BARBADOS ADVOCATE in English 23 May 84 p 1]

AIRLINE ACCORD--There will be no changes in BWIA's scheduled operations to London, via Barbados, this summer, according to an agreement reached between the Trinidad and Tobago State-owned airline and the Barbados-operated Caribbean Airways. This means that BWIA will continue to land in Barbados on Saturdays on its eastbound flight to London. Just over a week ago it was reported that officials of Caribbean Airways had announced in London that, effective June 30, BWIA would not be able to land in Barbados on its eastbound flight to London on Saturdays. This reported ban created some uneasiness on the part of BWIA, currently desperately seeking to drastically reduce its operating deficit. The Saturday stopover in Barbados had been described as one of Bee-Wee's most lucrative operations. Wednesday's meeting was held in Barbados at the request of the Barbados Air Transport Licensing Authority which asked both airlines to consult in order to settle their scheduled days of operation. BWIA's Corporate Manager, Mr Horace Blake said the meeting was cordial and that it is hoped the harmony which prevailed at Wednesday's meeting, will continue. [By John Babb] [Excerpts] [Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 15 Jun 84 p 1]

CSO: 3298/908

## DLP CONVENTION EYES LEADERSHIP ISSUE, ATTACKS BLP

## Sandiford Blast at BLP

Bridgetown THE NATION in English 21 May 84 p 1

[Text]

DEPUTY leader of the Democratic Labour Party, Mr. Erskine Sandiford, has charged that the "benign neglect" of the party in power to the needs of the Barbadian people has caused a "crisis in our midst".

Speaking at the St. James Secondary School yesterday at the Democratic Labour Party's third Northern Zone convention, Mr. Sandiford said that Barbados was experiencing a crisis in its agricultural, and tourism sectors; in unemployment, increases in crime, road repairs and in the management of Parliament.

Barbados' National Debt, which he said had come about largely due to involvement in the International Monetary Fund, "is breaking the backs of the taxpayer".

In 1974, he said, Barbados had incurred debts of over \$179 million, while in 1976, due largely to the worldwide recession between 1973-75 — though "astutely handled" by Mr. Errol Barrow — the debt had increased to \$258 million.

"However, in 1984, the debt is some \$857.6 million," he said.

Speaking on the crisis of unemployment, he said that it should be the birthright of every Barbadian citizen, who is willing to work, to have a job, "yet there are 16 740 persons who are seeking jobs, but are unable to find work".

The representative for St. Michael South further charged that the agricultural sector had been greatly "mismanaged" and that "between the period 1977-83, less sugar had been produced than in the period 1970-76.

The tourism and manufacturing industries, he said, "were going into retreat".

He said that the policy by Government, designed to ensure "decent" housing for every Barbadian, would be a nearly impossible task.

Touching on education, Mr. Sandiford said he was also concerned over the policy of turning teachers into civil servants "against their will. There must be some dignity and respect", he said.

He also said that there had been a falling off for respect of law and order in the community, and questioned why the Royal Barbados Police Force's request for a substantial increase in their estimates, had been turned down.

"We cannot be surprised if Barbadians can no longer boast that their homes are their castles. We are no longer safe in either our homes or on the roads, and this is due mainly to the fact that the police do not have the resources or the money to get the resources to best protect the citizens of our country."

Saying that Parliament was the supreme body where the actions of the Government could be passed as legitimate, Mr. Sandiford said the only way in which the existing crisis could be resolved would be to elect a party that cared for its country.

"The policies of the Barbados Labour Party have failed, but we have necessary cohesion and unity to deal with the problems facing this country," he stated.

## Barrow Accusation

Bridgetown THE NATION in English 21 May 84 p 1

[Text]

**LEADER** of the Democratic Labour Party, Mr. Errol Barrow, has accused the Barbados Labour Party of eroding the democratic rights of the people of Barbados.

Making reference to the most recent levy by the National Housing Corporation on Haynesville, St. James, residents who have defaulted on payments, he said it was time that a Government who would come to terms with its people, "the humble and the meek", came into power.

"We have to show solidarity with the humble and meek, and those who can't speak for themselves.

"We must show solidarity with those workers who are being laid off," Mr. Barrow said.

He felt that the problem with Barbadians was that they seem-

ed to have a tolerance to take minor abuses, and do nothing about them, "but there are too many problems confronting this country, and there is an erosion of our democratic rights".

The Opposition Leader told the Northern Zone gathering that his party was ready and willing to give that solidarity that was so much needed.

Another speaker at that convention yesterday, Mr. Keith Simmons, also lashed out at the treatment that had been meted out to the Haynesville residents, who, he said, "seemed to be the target of Government's dehumanising programme".

He said that although he would urge tenants to pay their rents, he could not see why it was necessary to give so much publicity to the inhumane way in which the National Housing Corporation had been carrying out its duties.

## Question of Party Leadership

Bridgetown THE NATION in English 21 May 84 p 1

[Text]

**DEPUTY** political leader of the Democratic Labour Party (DLP), Mr. Erskine Sandiford, denied yesterday that there was a leadership fight within the party ranks.

"The Democratic Labour Party," Mr. Sandiford declared, "will have to let the public know that this issue as to who will lead our party, should we succeed (in the

next election) is settled, and that leader is the current Opposition leader, Mr. Errol Barrow."

"There is no struggle for leadership, as the people think, within the Party," Sandiford told members attending the Third Northern Zone Convention at the St. James Secondary School.

The deputy leader charged that on the leadership question, self-seekers within the Party and others outside were the ones trying to "stir up trouble among our ranks."

He told the convention: "I must make it abundantly clear that the Honourable Errol Walton Barrow is our leader, and with all due modesty, I will also say that I hold the post of the deputy leader."

Mr. Sandiford, speaking on the topic "The Crisis in Our midst", told party adherents that no political party could expect to reap success in an upcoming election unless that party was

united. The electorate, he said, would want to know who would be their prospective leaders.

The question of leadership within the Democratic Labour Party, he stated, could not be allowed to be swept under the carpet until such time arrived that one had to be chosen. If that were done, they would never succeed.

To him, it was clear who was the leader, but he still thought it was time for some of them within the Party to curb their ambitions and wait their turn.

He pointed out that the party had won three elections and has lost two and advised: "If we don't be careful, we might lose another election. It can happen."

"However, according to my assessment and feeling, the people of Barbados are ready and willing to give back the Democratic Labour Party the power."

Would they, he asked, allow persons, in or outside of the party, to destroy that chance?



## Candidates for Next Election

Bridgetown THE NATION in English 21 May 84 p 1

[Text]

PRESIDENT of the Democratic Labour Party, Mr. Branford Taft, yesterday announced nine candidates who will contest seats in the next Barbados general elections.

Senator Evelyn Greaves will again contest the St. Lucy seat; Mrs. Sybil Leacock will be the candidate for St. Peter; Mr. Andrew Mascoll, a newcomer, will vie for the St. Andrew seat; Mr. Keith Simmons for St. James South; and Mr. Junior Rock, who chaired the proceedings at the third Northern Zone convention of the Democratic Labour Party yesterday, will be the candidate for St. Thomas.

Mrs. Maisie Welch was named as the contestant for St. Joseph, while Mr. Philip Greaves, will contest St. Michael North, and Mr. Leroy Brathwaite, St. Michael North-East. Attorney-at-law, Mr. Joseph Payne, will contest the St. James North seat.

CSO: 3298/918

## ARMS STOCKPILING IN NEARBY STATES WORRIES POLICE

Bridgetown THE NATION in English 29 May 84 p 20

[Text] Barbados has no serious problem in the trafficking of firearms but there is evidence of stockpiling of arms in countries reasonably close to us.

So said Police Commissioner, Mr Orville Durant who noted that INTERPOL representatives believed there was "usual association" between illegal drug trafficking and illegal firearm trafficking.

Countries with "considerable experience" were able, at the just concluded fifth INTERPOL Caribbean/Central American conference, to indicate the sort of things one should look for in determining whether such illicit traffic was actually taking place, said the commissioner.

He said: "There is already evidence of what you may call stockpiling of arms in one or two countries that are reasonably close to us...."

He, however, added: "Barbados, as far as I know, has no serious problem in this direction but, nonetheless, we are always alert to the possibility."

Turning to violent crimes Mr Durant said that unlike some other INTERPOL member states, Barbados did not have much of this, especially in terms of crimes like terrorism.

But, he noted: "We have evidence in Barbados of some violence in the course of robberies...."

Mr Durant said acts of terrorism tended to be highly organised and he stated: "Once the law enforcement officers in Barbados are aware of the possibility we are in a much better position to deal with the situation if it starts to emerge here."

CSO: 3298/918

## STRING OF CONSULATES IN BRITAIN UNDER CONSIDERATION

Bridgetown THE NATION in English 29 May 84 p 20

[Article by Gerry Harewood]

[Text]

**THE GOVERNMENT of Barbados is currently studying the feasibility of establishing honorary consulates in major cities of Britain "to better monitor the activities and problems" of Barbadians living in that country.**

To this end, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Louis Tull, will visit Britain within the next few months to tour sites of major concentration of Barbadians, with a view to determine the appropriate centres for consular representation.

Mr. Tull categorised as "extremely misinformed" statement made by Senator David Simmons during the Estimates debate that Barbadian nationals in Britain had little or no respect for the High Commission there because they felt it did not identify with them.

He stated that the high commissioner in London "devotes a lot of time and energies looking after the interests of Barbadian nationals throughout the United Kingdom."

He pointed out that two years ago, Barbados had appointed a deputy high commissioner to Britain, responsible only for consular affairs, which meant in ef-

fect, looking after the interests of Barbadians.

Mr. Tull also noted that Barbadian Government ministers had met various Barbadian organisations in Britain and organised them into groups and had established an umbrella organisation of the groups there. There was constant contact and dissemination of information from the groups to the mission and from the mission to the groups.

During the recent heads of mission conference in Barbados, thought was given to the increasing problems being experienced by Barbadians in Britain because of the economic circumstances in that country, to the rise in unemployment among Barbadians and their real problems of racism, the minister stated.

On the subject of Barbadian honorary consuls generally, Mr. Tull said that in February there was a meeting of honorary consuls and career consuls in New York, that reviewed the work of the consular corps in North America to see to what extent they were assisting in the promotion of things like tourism, export promotion, and so on.

The minister said he thought it would be useful to widen the scope of honorary consular representation in North America in various areas.

## MODERNIZATION OF ARMED FORCES DISCUSSED

Bonn TECNOLOGIA MILITAR in Spanish Apr-May 84 pp 53-54, 56, 58, 60-61

[Article by Joao da Cruz Payao: "Brazilian Armed Forces Doubling Troop Strength"]

[Text] The Brazilian Armed Forces are in the process of modernization, with steps currently being implemented, or studies which are well-advanced. These measures are those imposed by the very dynamics of an armed force if it is to adapt continually to the circumstances of the moment and thus to progress.

The professionalization of the Brazilian soldier, an eternal aspiration or ideal, is merely one of these measures. Others, equally broad in scope, are or will be rearmament and an increase in troop strength. The latter is an imperative of the present. The need to economize has always been the greatest hindrance to the achievement of this goal, but not the only one. Others were very often the result thereof, since it has always been difficult to reconcile the need to keep the young person in the ranks of the army for a longer period of time and his own need to specialize in a civilian vocation, his desire to establish a family, and even his obligation to contribute to the support of the family from which he came.

In the Brazilian Armed Forces, experience will develop and will mature with the call-up of second-class reserve officers (2R) for a greater number of years, with successive extensions, at two centers (or nuclei) for reserve officer training. They are the Reserve Officers Training Center (CPOR), a military establishment where officers of all the branches for the Armed Forces Reserve are trained on an intensive schedule, and the Reserve Officers Training Nucleus (NPOR), which will train officers for the reserve in some of the separate branches. The CPOR are autonomous units, while the NPOR will function as subunits within the units to which they are attached. The Brazilian Armed Forces, therefore, based on their own experience or that of the navy and the air force, where the level of professionalism is generally higher, and taking into account the way in which the problems of rights acquired and others of a general nature are resolved, are currently preparing to proceed with the professionalization of at least a part of the soldiers.

## Professionalization of the Land Army

Lt Gen Waldir de Vasconcelos, chief of the Armed Forces General Staff (EMFA) (ministerial post), and Lt Gen Delio Jardim de Matos, chief of the Air Force

General Staff (EMAer) (ministerial post), have already made statements about the need for such professionalization in the land army. One might note among the basic ideas in this campaign the elimination of compulsory military service, the plans as to how to do so currently being carried out, and the extension of the period of military service to 5 years, for at least a portion of the volunteers, subject to a selection process taking into account the interests of each individual, as well as his intellectual and physical capacities, based on the qualities demonstrated in basic military service. During this time of reenlistment, portioned out and renewed successively in accordance with a time limited by law, the soldier would be offered opportunities for military advancement based on apprenticeship or the mastery of skills in a civilian vocation. At the end of this period, the mutual interests of the soldiers, on the one hand, and the institution itself, on the other, would indicate permanent reenlistment, or reenlistment for an equal period, in some cases, or simply the release of the individual to engage in a civilian occupation learned or perfected parallel with military service.

In practice, this is what has happened with "R-2" (second-class army reserve) lieutenants, who on being called up render military service against remuneration as if they were studying in civilian faculties while on the active army lists.

This professionalization represents an important step forward in the modernization of the Brazilian Armed Forces. Another measure being implemented, of equal importance, is the increase in troop strength, which will be carried out gradually over the next 10 years, to arrive at a figure exceeding twice the number of men in service now, which is 113,550. With the new Troop Strength Law (No 7,150/83) approved by the president of the republic at the end of last year, this increase will add 182,784 men, thus raising the total troop strength to 296,334 in the armed forces in peacetime. The annual increase will be 18,000 men, including 182 generals, 25,936 intermediary officers (lieutenant colonels and colonels), 59,656 sublieutenants and sergeants, and 210,510 corporals and privates. Even so, the total will remain a modest one for a country with a population of about 130 million. The armed forces will also continue to be limited in terms of the proportion of officers to soldiers, a situation more consistent with the desired professionalization.

According to Law 7150, the number of soldiers to increase the total strength in all posts and ranks will be established each year by a decree promulgated by the executive branch within the provisions of the regulations.

This new troop strength of 296,334 men, which is still regarded as small, will make it possible to fill the ranks of the existing units, especially the combat units, and also to create other military organizations.

The increase in the personnel of the Brazilian Armed Forces is justified by the increase in the population resulting from the rapid expansion of the urban centers, the need for internal security, and the lengthy frontiers shared with 10 other countries, as well as the creation of more than 30 military organizations in various regions.

## Unit Reorganization

The creation of new units is being carried out by an administrative act within the Brazilian Land Army. Previously, whenever this need arose, it was necessary to overcome numerous difficulties making it impossible to increase troop strength, since this was then a congressional prerogative. Thus to the extent possible, other military organizations were eliminated, thus reducing troop strength.

A typical example was seen with engineering units, such as was often the case when new engineering construction battalions were organized on pioneer fronts in the North and Northeast regions to build highways, where civilian construction organizations either lacked any specific interest or conditions for their establishment did not exist, due to a lack of general or specific support, and the impossibility of coordination with a military body. In such cases, the personnel for the new engineering battalion was obtained by eliminating other existing organizations, especially combat units.

In maintaining triple combat organizations, the Brazilian Armed Forces found themselves forced for economic reasons to reduce their peacetime troop strength even further, and to establish battalions in their brigades with two units, and in some cases only one (companies, squadrons or batteries). The present brigades are feeling the lack of artillery groups and engineering and logistics battalions. The same is true on the division level. The land armies of all countries engage to a greater or lesser extent in activities complementing their own, generally the operative defense of the territory. In Brazil, the land, sea and air armies engage in these missions to a greater extent than is normally the case in other countries, due to the vastness of its territory and along with this, its peculiar situation.

And these needs are served by attempts to humanize the frontiers, combat smuggling, administer labor fronts (needed in the event of such calamities, for example, as floods or droughts, in the Northeast in particular, and in other catastrophic situations), civil defense, establishment of military settlements in regions difficult of access, construction of access roads, stringing of telegraph lines, drafting geographic maps, boundary marker commissions and many other tasks, some of which require long period of time. The satisfaction of these needs will be facilitated with the increase in troop strength.

And parallel with this, professionalization also provides benefits to the armed forces.

On the other hand, the industrial status of the country, with advanced technology capable of producing a broad range of industrial products, outstanding among which are those of the weapons industry, makes the reequipping of its armed forces, the land army in particular, possible. And it is at such a time, to the extent that it is possible and necessary, that the armed forces become more professional and provide the troops with more realistic qualities consistent with the needs. The reequipping of the Brazilian Armed Forces on the basis of domestic products serves as an encouragement to this flourishing defense equipment industry.

## The Defense Industry

Thus, linking the two advantages--the benefit to the economy and the incentive to domestic industry--together, the Brazilian Armed Forces have opted for an increase in combat capacity, that is to say the modernization of combat vehicles instead of the purchase of new ones.

The increase in the combat capacity of the M-41 Walker Bulldogs is being sought through the replacement of its weaponry and the installation of Brazilian Saab-Scania DS-14 (400 hp) diesel engines to replace the gasoline engines and all of the power drives. A 90mm gun will replace the old 76mm. The chains will be protected by armored skirts. The task of increasing the combat efficiency of the M-41 has been entrusted to Bernardini Industry and Trade, S.A., a traditional producer of safes for banks, special vehicle bodies for highway use, and since the 1960s, a manufacturer of military vehicles. Apart from Bernardini, Novatracao, a manufacturer and maintenance firm for chains and wheels, as well as a manufacturer of other products for civilian use, will also participate in increasing combat efficiency.

The Brazilian Armed Forces will also substitute the 5.56mm rifle for the FAL (light machine gun) and FAP (heavy machine gun), both 7.62 caliber. This will increase the ammunition transport capacity of the combatants. This new weaponry will be manufactured by Taurus and Imbel [Ordnance Industry] (a Brazilian state company producing defense equipment). To the programs for professionalization, increasing troop strength and utilization of light weaponry will be added a project, already approved, for providing the Brazilian Armed Forces with the best antiaircraft artillery on the continent, using Brazilian equipment, within the next 10 years. The investment will total a billion dollars. All of the components in the system will be manufactured in Brazil by the national defense industry. They will include electronic firing switchboards, ground-to-air missiles and highly efficient automatic guns. This project is already in the process of full execution. The first due date for AVIBRAS AEROESPACIAL is approaching, and between 1984 and 1985, it will deliver the first 12 Fighting Intruders at Low Altitude (FILA), which will constitute a basic component for the complex. In the next 10 years, 140 FILA will be delivered to the Brazilian FAS.

A missile, which will be of the Franco-German Roland class, with a 5-kilometer range, will also be developed by AVIBRAS. It will be followed by another with a 20-kilometer range in the Sparrow line. In the drafting of the project, the studies and observations made in connection with the war in the Falkland Islands between Argentina and Great Britain, and the battle in the Bekaa Valley, will be basic.

The characteristics of the FILA will be mobility, range between 5 and 20 kilometers, and digital miniaturization systems for the complex. The firing switchboard will direct the missiles and guns and an early warning sensor. These components may be combined in various formats. The system will include a laser tracking mechanism which will be invulnerable to electronic counter-measures and cannot be detected by the enemy equipment which receives radar emissions from the guidance station. The equipment will track the course of

enemy planes while giving off no signal, not even the echo wave pulse returned by similar equipment which is vulnerable to missiles, for example the Shrike and the Alarm.

During the 10 years of installing modern antiaircraft defense systems, constant technological modernization will be carried out. The initial combination of missiles varying in range between 5 and 20 kilometers, and also automatic guns of the Oerlikon type, will provide the system with great security and will enable it to detect aircraft on successive ground levels, beginning with the most distant, thus establishing the perimeter of the target at which the invader is aiming.

If it can be assumed that each of these measures taken separately--increasing troop strength, professionalization and rearmament--offers the possibility of an increase in the efficiency in the land army, one can at least hope that all together they will serve to provide Latin America with powerful and well-trained armed forces which can participate in Western defense.

The Brazilian defense materiel industry is growing rapidly. Historically, it began in the year 1898 with the establishment of a cartridge factory. In the era when warships were still built of wood, Brazil was already building its own (being one of the first countries to do so). They were provided with steel plating and were used in the Triple Alliance War, when Brazil, allied with Argentina and Uruguay, opposed the hegemonic dreams of the government in Asuncion in a bloody struggle which lasted 5 years, from 1865 to 1871. The Brazilian Navy, to which memorable feats can be credited, fought with vessels the majority of which were domestically produced. The war materiel industry already existed in that era, although it was little more than a craft activity, and it was the factor enabling the allied countries to wage a war of such length. But Brazil did not export the defense equipment it produced. Today, it is the sixth-ranking export country (with its weapons exports ranking fourth), competing with undeniable success on a market which constitutes a consumer society, on the one hand, while on the other it is content with nothing but the best. The reasons for this are many, and they involve nothing new. They include relatively cheap manpower and machines with advanced technology, although simple, while at the same time safe and efficient, as well as good quality and reasonable price, now in many instances tested in theaters of operations in Africa or the Middle East.

The government authorities have rapidly won markets in the Third World, and have consolidated this gain. The pursuit of a flexible and ethical export policy has made a great contribution.

Brazil exports weapons to almost 40 countries in Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East. The Brazilian government authorities have optimistically announced a substantial increase in exports of war materiel beginning this year.

But even before this status was achieved, exports were supported by this industry, the products of which are only consumed by Brazil's own armed forces to a very small extent (only 5 percent of the equipment produced).



The agreement between Brazil and the United States solicited by the Geisel government seems to have been the main factor in this situation. It forced the defense industry to develop its own technology.

Examples of industries which will develop or are developing vanguard technology in various sectors include the ENGESA [Specialized Engineers, Inc], EMBRAER [Brazilian Aeronautics Company] and AVIBRAS AEROESPACIAL, which, in the words of engineer Domingos Adherbal Olivieri, director of HYDROAR, S. A., a metallurgical industry, "are the pioneers blazing the path to be followed."

In the next issue of TECNOLOGIA MILITAR, we will publish a detailed survey of Brazilian defense industries.

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CSO: 3348/458

## AGRICULTURAL, AGROINDUSTRIAL EXPORTS TO YIELD \$10.3 BILLION

Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 11 June 84 p 16

[Article by Marco Antonio Antunes]

[Text] Sao Paulo--Brazilian exports of farm and agroindustrial products should bring into the country this year about \$10.3 billion as compared to \$9,330,000,000 last year, according to the estimates of some of the main representative bodies in these sectors. The improvement, which may be still more substantial, is due mainly to the increase in international prices benefiting such crops as coffee, soybeans, cacao beans, oranges and tobacco.

The greatest advance, without a doubt, will be in foreign sales of orange juice, which will be up from \$709 million in 1983 to \$1.1 billion this year, according to the prediction of Brazilian Rural Association President Flavio Telles Menezes. In the first quarter of 1984 alone, Brazil exported 300,000 tons of juice, representing additional foreign exchange income of \$421 million, the Sao Paulo Citrus Growers Association (ASSOCITRUS) reports.

The prices of the product on the New York stock market have set one record after another since the freezes last winter wreaked havoc on the orange plantations in Florida, the largest U.S. producer state, with the May contract being quoted at 186.6 cents on the dollar per pound weight, or in other words, an increase of 66.5 percent in a year.

#### New High

United States operators believe that the price is likely to continue to rise, increasing from the \$1,450 per ton exported by Brazil to something between \$1,700 and \$1,900, the president of ASSOCITRUS, Nelson Marquezelli, reports. He said that the Brazilian juice industry is already marketing this product in the United States at \$1,900, although the contract registered at the CACEX [Foreign Trade Department] shows \$1,450, reflecting underinvoicing.

Cacao beans too have benefitted from increases in international prices, to the extent that the Cacao Producers Advisory Council, with headquarters in Itabuna, Bahia, has already revised its export estimate for this year. The acting president of this body, Wanderlei Rocha do Rosario, predicts that the sector will export almonds, butter, liquor and cocoa paste worth about \$800 million, as compared to \$562,600,000 last year.

Exports of Farm Products (in millions of dollars)		
Product	1983	1984 (estimated)
Coffee	2,324	2,500
Soybeans	2,563	2,700
Sugar	540	500
Cacao	552	650
Oranges	709	1,100
Almonds	34	30
Cotton	401	400
Timber	298	300
Hemp	88	90
Poultry Products	242	240
Fishing	129	135
Livestock Products	532	530
Tobacco	458	600
Paraguay Tea	17	17
Bananas	11	11
Cashews	69	70
Brazil Nuts	36	40
Wool	51	51
Carnauba Palm (Wax)	13	13
Castor Beans (Crude Oil)	2	2
Leather and Hides	141	150
Alcohol	120	150
Total	9,330	10,279

If this is the case, soybeans and coffee will again be the two farm products bringing in the most foreign exchange for Brazil in 1984. According to the president of the Brazilian Rural Association, Flavio Telles Menezes, exports of soy products--beans, meal, crude and refined oil--"will come to \$2.7 billion at a minimum, as compared to \$2,563,000,000 last year."

This improvement also is attributed to the rise in international prices for the product, which went up in less than a year from \$7.20 per bushel (a bushel equals 27.22 kilograms) to \$8.10. Brazilian sales in the first quarter fell below those for the comparable period last year, because producers slowed down marketing of the product in the expectation of a new price rise, the Brazilian Vegetable Oil Industry Association (ABIOVE) reports.

Foreign sales of coffee have already reached \$2.5 billion, as compared to \$2,563,000,000 in 1983, solely due to the rise in international prices. The harvest last year, which is now being exported, was low in quality, reports Flavio Menezes, working to some extent against the increase in exports.

The expectations for tobacco exports, showing an increase from \$457,009,000 last year to \$600 million this year are also favorable. Livestock breeding will remain at the same level as that in 1983, totaling \$530 million, including natural cattle and horse products and corned beef. The largest problem in connection with domestic expansion of the sector is the sale of meat by the European Common Market, the president of the Rural Association says.

Foreign sales of sugar and sugar products should fall below those in 1983, with \$500 million in sales expected as compared to \$540 million last year.

The fact is that the price of the product has dropped to a minimal level, 5 cents on the dollar and 70 per pound weight, with the result that the Sugar and Alcohol Institute (IAA) is paying the producer a higher price than the foreign market price.

Of all of the byproducts of sugar cane, it is alcohol which, according to the current estimates of the Sugar and Alcohol Producers Association (SOPRAL) should have the best foreign prospects this year. The director and superintendent of the body, Luis Gonzaga Bertelli, estimates that 400 million liters of alcohol worth \$150 million will be exported this year, as compared to 372,008,000 liters last year, worth \$120 million.

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CSO: 3342/121

## GROWTH OF 1.1 PERCENT IN PIB PROJECTED IN 1984

Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 11 Jun 84 p 14

[Article by Cristina Calmon]

[Text] The Gross Domestic Product (PIB), which is the total national production of goods and services, covering all sectors of the economy, should show an increase of 1.1 percent in 1984, according to the preliminary estimates of a high-ranking adviser in the Ministry of Planning in Brasilia. Based on data for the first quarter, he believes that the rate of increase in the real product should fall between 0.3 and 2 percent, based on the most optimistic and most pessimistic predictions adopted for the primary sector (agriculture) and processing industries.

The Ministry of Planning adviser reported that the positive increase in the PIB in 1984, reversing the 3.3 percent decline seen last year, will basically depend on the development of farm production, exports of industrialized products and the ore-extracting industry. If the trend in these sectors toward expansion continues, obviously, the result will be an increase in the PIB this year.

## Farm Growth

Working on the basis of three hypotheses--pessimistic (0.3 percent), realistic (1.1 percent), and optimistic (2 percent), for the rate of increase in the real product in 1984, the Ministry of Planning adviser explained that the expected increase in the rate of economic activities is the result of the positive variation of the product of the primary sector above the historic average, about 6 percent, mainly as a function of agricultural undertakings.

Some key factors, although generic in influence, are the foundation for the expected increase of about 7 percent, exceeding the historic level of 3.4 percent in agriculture in the period between 1972 and 1983. According to the source at the Planning Ministry, the fact that coffee production is not likely to be affected by freezes, a "fact which has historically caused sharp variations in the rate of increase for farm products," is a key factor.

In addition to this, the weather conditions which have already occurred have not made themselves felt in major gains or losses in productivity. Therefore it is the area planted which will basically dictate the production level. There is the additional positive effect of Northeast production, which will

tend, given the more favorable climate, to correct the production levels of the Center-South region upward for such products as cotton, rice, corn, beans, cassava and sugar cane.

A Ministry of Planning study shows that livestock breeding, a primary subsector, is tending toward relative lack of growth. The estimate is for an increase below the historic average, of about 3 percent. Although figures on the development of production in various livestock sectors are not yet available, the trend prediction was based on the development of cattle slaughtering and milk production, two sectors which are both facing an unfavorable situation.

#### Oil and Gold

In industrial production (secondary sector), the expectation is for rather substantial expansion--20 percent--where ore extraction is concerned, under the influence of the prospect of rather positive results in oil, iron ore and gold production, which together account for almost 70 percent of the total. According to IBGE [Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics] data, the ore extraction industry showed a 30 percent increase over the figure for the first quarter of 1983.

According to the Ministry of Planning study, civil construction should continue to be significantly affected by the Brazilian economic adjustment crisis. The prediction, therefore, is for a 10 percent decline for the sector. This rate was established on the basis of the "highly negative results seen last year (-13.6 percent), taken as a base."

The estimated growth of about 10 percent for industrial public utility services reflects the expected expansion of electrical energy consumption, the most important variable in the development of this sector. The expectation is due to the fact that industrial consumption of electrical energy saw a significant increase in the first month of this year, as a result of the development of certain industrial sectors, mainly metallurgy, which benefited from the boom in exports and the thermoelectric market (replacement of fuel oil and other oil products with cheaper electricity).

The activity with the greatest weight in the industrial production sector, the processing industry, is likely to see its development in 1984 "heavily influenced by the expansion of exports of industrialized products." The 2.7 percent growth estimate takes into account the fact that the value of industrial exports is likely to account for about 29 percent of the production of the processing industry. In real terms, exports are expected to increase about 16.5 percent, while production intended for the domestic market should decline by about 3 percent.

In the service sector, which is divided into trade, transportation and communications, financial intermediaries and government (federal, state and municipal), the prediction is for a slight decline in the level of activities (-0.3 percent), caused basically by the expected decline in trade of about

2 percent. In the government sector, the Planning Ministry estimate indicates zero growth, since in the calculation of the real product, this sector is represented by the number of public employees, and the presumption is that this figure will not increase in 1984.

Estimated Increase in the PIB in 1984  
(%)

Sector	Hypothesis		
	Pessimistic	Realistic	Optimistic
Primary sector	4.0	6.0	8.0
Crop raising	3.0	3.0	3.0
Livestock raising	3.0	3.0	3.0
Secondary sector	3.0	1.6	2.4
Processing industry	1.0	2.7	3.7
Ore extraction industry	20.0	20.0	20.0
Civil construction industry	-10.0	-10.0	-10.0
Public utilities service industry	10.0	10.0	10.0
Tertiary sector	-0.3	-2.0	-0.3
Trade	-0.2	-2.0	-0.2
Financial intermediaries	2.5	2.5	2.5
Transportation and communications	1.0	2.0	2.0
Government	0.0	0.0	0.0
Gross domestic product	0.3	1.1	2.0

Source: Ministry of Planning

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CSO: 3342/121

## PRC IMPORTS OF STEEL: 1983 OVERALL EXPORT FIGURES

## Main Steel Client

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 9 Jun 84 p 17

[Text] Beginning this year, China may become the leading Brazilian market for its steel exports, SIDERBRAS [Brazilian Iron and Steel Corporation] (state steel enterprise holding company) President Henrique Brandao Cavalcanti said yesterday at the closing session of the 14th Brazilian Metallurgical Congress which began last Thursday at the Rio Palace Hotel.

Up until the present the leading market importing Brazilian steel was the United States. Last year, 1.4 million tons worth \$405 million were exported to that country. But due to the protectionist barriers (taxation) established by the American government, Brazil will reduce its steel exports to the United States by about 50 percent this year, representing a loss of between \$100 million and \$150 million.

On the basis of a contract signed last March, Brazil will export 1.5 million tons to China in the next 3 years (500,000 tons each year), worth \$150 million per year. Exports to China this year alone, in accordance with the contract signed in March, will come close to the total exported to the United States in the same period.

The president of SIDERBRAS explained that steel exports to China will, however, depend on major freight facilities, since that country is much farther away than the United States.

"China will need 9 million tons of steel for the use of its industries this year," Henrique Cavalcanti said. "This is a large volume and it is a good market." Therefore we must guarantee delivery of the product according to the current contracts, and we can expand our sales to that market.



# 1983 Export Figures

Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 9 Jun 84 p 17

	(1) Países	(2) Gerro-Gusa	(3) Lingots e Semi- Acabados	(4) Laminados Planos	(5) Laminados Não Planos	(6) Outros	(7) Total
(8) (9) (10)	América do Norte/ Quant. (t) Valor (em mil US\$ FOB)	185.501 21.906	19.436 4.359	913.782 246.825	191.706 67.165	173.374 64.904	1.483.799 405.159
(11) (9) (10)	América Latina/ Quant. (t) Valor (em mil US\$ FOB)	225.198 21.511	43.800 6.776	165.409 51.828	93.746 25.938	22.803 17.603	550.956 123.656
(12) (9) (10)	África/ Quant. (t) Valor (em mil US\$ FOB)	— —	58.316 9.366	13.808 5.076	344.730 67.741	6.629 2.601	423.483 84.784
(13) (9) (10)	Europa Ocidental/ Quant. (t) Valor (em mil US\$ FOB)	178.468 18.933	14.309 3.066	215.315 46.014	66.850 18.345	17.000 10.087	491.942 96.445
(14) (9) (10)	Europa Oriental/ Quant. (t) Valor (em mil US\$ FOB)	20.000 2.155	— —	12.428 3.045	29.108 8.446	814 1.327	62.351 14.873
(15) (9) (10)	Ásia/Oceania/ Quant. (t) Valor (em mil US\$ FOB)	1.112.221 111.070	153.092 21.021	1.096.532 239.831	246.228 53.358	3.199 2.387	2.611.271 427.667
(16) (9) (10)	Oriente Médio/ Quant. (t) Valor (em mil US\$ FOB)	35.300 3.742	104.883 15.383	530.863 115.177	459.685 85.731	4.912 3.935	1.135.643 223.968
(17) (9) (10)	Destino Não Definido/ Quant. (t) Valor (em mil US\$ FOB)	51.437 5.607	29.089 5.194	62.487 18.206	59.349 15.827	9.632 6.236	211.994 51.070
(18) (9) (10)	TOTAL GERAL/ Quant. (t) Valor (em mil US\$ FOB)	1.808.125 184.924	422.825 65.165	3.010.624 726.002	1.491.403 342.551	238.362 109.080	6.971.439 1.427.722

## Key:

- |                             |                                      |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Country                  | 10. Value (in thousands of US\$ FOB) |
| 2. Pig iron                 | 11. Latin America                    |
| 3. Ingots and semiprocessed | 12. Africa                           |
| 4. Flat rolled plates       | 13. Western Europe                   |
| 5. Other rolled plates      | 14. Eastern Europe                   |
| 6. Other                    | 15. Asia and Oceania                 |
| 7. Total                    | 16. Middle East                      |
| 8. North America            | 17. Unidentified Destination         |
| 9. Quantity (t)             | 18. Grand Total                      |

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CSO 3342/121

## NEW ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIER IN TEST PHASE

Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 6 Jun 84 p 19

[Text] Sao Paulo--Brazil's first tracked armored personnel carrier, which was developed entirely in Brazil by Motor Parts Industry of Sorocaba, is now in the testing phase. More modern and versatile than competitors currently in use around the world, the vehicle, designated the Charrua, will be the future replacement for the fleet of U.S.-made M-113 vehicles, which were designed in the 1960's for the Vietnam War.

The firm has been developing the project for over a year in cooperation with the CTEX (Army Technology Center), and according to experts close to the arms industry, series production may begin at the end of this year or the start of 1985. Motor Parts Industry is maintaining secrecy concerning the new armored vehicle, which was presented recently to authorities of the national Armed Forces. The model has features similar to those of the M-113 and the French AMX-10, but it includes innovations that improve its operating and performance characteristics.

## Local Content

The Charrua (a name taken from a tribe of warrior Indians in southern Brazil) was developed under the provisional designation XMP-1. According to industry experts, it required investments equivalent to \$1 million. The manufacturing firm has avoided commenting on its existence, refusing to confirm the amount invested in the first prototype or its percentage of local content.

According to technicians familiar with the project, the Charrua has a high percentage of local content. Only its transmission was imported: a U.S. CD-500 gearbox that will also soon be produced in Brazil. It uses the same track system as Bernardini's Tamoio 6, thus facilitating its operation in transporting infantry troops in formation with tanks. Its armor is tempered steel with a thickness of 13 millimeters (front and rear plates) or 16 millimeters (front and sides). Equipped with a Scania turbine diesel engine with 400 horsepower, it can reach a top speed of 60 kilometers per hour on land and 6 kilometers per hour in water using two hydrojet propellers.

Its range (450 kilometers) is much superior to that of the American M-113 (120 kilometers in the original model), and its fuel consumption is substantially

less (1.5 kilometers per liter, compared to 400 meters per liter for the M-113). Its design enables it to negotiate a maximum longitudinal slope of 60 percent and a lateral slope of 30 percent. With much more space on the inside, it can normally carry 12 men plus the crew (2 men) or up to 24 men.

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CSO: 3342/119

## IBGE REPORTS INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION UP 3.87 PERCENT NATIONWIDE

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 16 Jun 84 p 25

[Text] Rio de Janeiro--Brazilian industrial production during the first quarter of this year was up by 3.87 percent in relation to the same period last year. That information was announced in Rio de Janeiro yesterday by the IBGE [Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics] in its publication "Cyclical Indicators in Industry." Despite that overall growth, the automotive vehicle industry declined by 11.71 percent during the same period, "influenced possibly by the drop in production due to strikes."

According to the breakdown by major classification, the industrial sectors showing the best performance during the first 4 months of this year were the following: tractors and road equipment (136.90 percent), farm equipment (60.33 percent), fertilizers (45.91 percent), extraction of nonmetallic ores (42.42 percent), coal extraction (39.41 percent), extraction of petroleum and natural gas (34.49 percent), and trucks and buses (31.61 percent). The biggest drops were in the following sectors: office and household equipment (-18.98 percent), feed preparation for animals (-15.18 percent), cement (-14.77 percent), automobiles and light trucks (-11.31 percent), and spinning and weaving of natural textiles (-11.15 percent).

The rise in demand for automobiles in rural areas was not enough, according to the publication, to offset the drop in sales in urban centers. The deindexing of wages, the higher tax burden, and the rising cost of living are singled out as the factors responsible for lower purchasing power among consumers in the large urban centers, "preventing the recovery from reaching the consumer goods sector." In the case of automobiles, and in addition to the above factors and the drop in production due to strikes, the IBGE regards high interest rates on direct consumer credit as another reason for that sector's slump. The publication also recalls that "a considerable reduction in the potential market for automobiles since 1980--the last year in which the sector recorded good sales--has occurred as a result of the wage policies adopted since then."

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CSO: 3342/119

## GALVEAS CITES INTENT TO PAY INTEREST ONLY ON FOREIGN DEBT

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 14 Jun 84 p 23

[Text] Rio de Janeiro--"We are not going to pay any debt at all. The bankers know that, and so do the multilateral institutions. We are going to pay the interest, and when our money runs out, they (the bankers) will lend us more so we can continue to pay the interest."

So said Minister of Finance Ernane Galveas during a lecture delivered yesterday to students at the War College (ESG) in Rio de Janeiro. In the minister's opinion, Brazil does not have to worry about paying its foreign debt because the debt was contracted to be administered, not repaid.

During an interview following the lecture, Galveas mentioned the main causes of Brazilian indebtedness and the measures for straightening out the economy. He challenged forecasts by Lloyds Bank to the effect that it will take Brazil 5 years to come out of the recession. He said that the signs of recovery are beginning to be clearly visible as measured by the improved employment level and the appearance of growing surpluses in the trade balance, "which show that we are coming out of the crisis."

The minister of finance told the ESG students that payment of interest is the best way to handle the problem of foreign debt--not the adoption of such solutions as government-to-government negotiations, collective negotiations, debtors' clubs, moratoriums, suspension of payments, forgiveness of debt, or refusal to pay at all. He added that in general, such proposals are made by "people with no responsibility for reality and who know nothing about the practice of negotiation or how the negotiations are being conducted."

After emphasizing that "it makes no sense to invite a man to heaven unless you show him the way out of hell," Galveas said that political pressure can help create national awareness in the major industrialized countries without going beyond what he considers the limits of good sense "and forcing the negotiators into an unnecessary position of confrontation that is harmful to the talks."

## Nationalist Bravado

In addressing the ESG students, the minister of finance did not read the most critical portions of his lecture, which dealt with ideas concerning negotiation

of the foreign debt. The reason he gave was the lack of time, since he had already exceeded by 20 minutes the time allotted for his lecture (1 hour). In the written part of his lecture, he argued that there was no sense to certain "magic formulas" calling for a unilateral moratorium, suspension of payment, or sovereign renegotiation because "they have no connection with reality and bear a clearly demagogic stamp or are even juvenile manifestations of nationalist bravado."

But to justify that criticism, he presented four factors that must be viewed together when dealing with Brazil's foreign debt: 1) the actual medium- and long-term debt accumulated in the past, which totaled \$81 billion as of 31 December 1983; 2) the potential debt in the form of interest, which will represent a burden of \$11 billion this year; 3) the floating debt arising from commercial lines of credit opened by foreign banks for Brazilian banks to finance exports and imports, the placement of bankers' acceptances by PETROBRAS, and other commercial paper issued by PETROBRAS, the Rio Doce Valley Company, and others (this is debt that finances purchases of petroleum and coal as well as the ACCS's), for a total of \$10 billion; and 4) interbank deposits--that is, deposits made primarily by foreign banks in overseas branches of the Bank of Brazil and other Brazilian banks and applied as one of the types of loan mentioned in 1) and 3) above, for a total of \$6 billion.

Because of those factors, Galveas feels that anyone presenting different suggestions for renegotiating the debt is not aware of what might happen--if any of their suggestions were followed--to the commercial credits and interbank deposits abroad. These currently total between \$16 billion and \$18 billion, are short-term obligations, and amount to more than the principal and interest falling due on Brazil's debt in 1 year.

In the opinion of the minister of finance, negotiation of Brazil's foreign debt must be basically bilateral from the debtor's point of view and collective from that of the creditors in the case of private banks. Although approving of collective political action on both sides, he says that government-to-government negotiation "is an unamusing joke by someone who is not familiar with the mechanisms of the international financial market."

#### Recovery

Galveas guaranteed that the Brazilian economy is entering a real process of recovery because the available indicators show that the country is beginning to reap the first fruits of the adjustment program, especially in the foreign sector, since petroleum prices are no longer the chief source of imbalance.

He added that the expansion of exports--especially of manufactured products--"is acting as the lead car in this initial recovery process." Concerning the recovery in the industrial sector, he emphasized the growth observed during the first quarter of the year (about 4 percent), the recovery in the employment level (measured by the indicators established by the Sao Paulo State Federation of Industries), and industrial electric energy consumption, which rose by 19.4 percent in comparison with the first quarter of 1983.

Speaking to reporters, the minister of finance made it a point to explain that there is no disagreement between the country's economic authorities and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs concerning the stands on foreign debt that the country has adopted in relation to other debtor countries. Galveas said: "On the contrary, we are working together toward the same objective, which is to find the best solutions to the country's problems."

According to Galveas, Brazil will make it clear at the meeting in Cartagena, Colombia that it is not interested in the formation of a debtor's cartel or in collective solutions and that what it is interested in are better terms by the lending banks--meaning longer repayment terms and lower financial charges in connection with the debt.

Galveas said he respects Argentina's decision to refuse to pay its foreign debt in the way decided on by its creditors and to reject the model for its economic recovery as laid down by the IMF, but he said that Argentina's position is not suitable in every case for other countries.

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CSO: 3342/119

## INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY IN SAO PAULO CONTINUES IN SECOND QUARTER

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 16 Jun 84 p 25

[Text] The Activity Level Indicator [INA] as measured by the Sao Paulo State Federation of Industries [FIESP] showed a 2.5-percent increase in April compared to the same month in 1983, thus raising the accumulated rate for the 4 months to 2.3 percent above that for the same period last year. That performance confirms the recovery trend observed during the first quarter and eliminates a few distortions such as Carnival and the effect of the maxidevaluation of the cruzeiro in 1983. The recovery is still not very significant, however, since Sao Paulo industry is still a long way from its peak: the moving average for the past 12 months indicates that the INA is now at the same level as in March 1979, while actual sales are on a par with those in October 1978.

Paulo Francini, director of the FIESP's Department of Economy, says: "We have still not buried the recession," and he points out that industrial growth continues to be sustained by exports. This can be shown by several indicators. In the first place, the sectors with the highest growth rates during the 4 months in question are those aimed at exports: metallurgy (27.5 percent), transportation equipment (17.1 percent), and paper and board (9.2 percent). Moreover, the export sector's share of industrial activity rose from 12.7 percent in 1979 to 28 percent during the first quarter of 1984.

## Domestic Slowdown

That same reasoning indicates that the rate of growth in industrial activity is not more significant because of the sharp slump that persists in the domestic market. This is also confirmed by analysis of the industrial products that are continuing their decline: plastics (-25.1 percent), nonmetallic ores (-11.9 percent), and foodstuffs (-10.9 percent). Production by those sectors is intended primarily for the domestic market.

The domestic slowdown can also be measured by an approximate analysis of the available figures, according to Francini. Considering that 70 percent of production is for the domestic market and 30 percent is for export, industrial production would have increased by 12 percent if the domestic market had remained stable, since exports rose by 40 percent during the 4 months in question. But since industrial production rose by only about 2 percent, the domestic market must have declined by approximately 14 percent.



That drop is compatible with the latest figures showing a slump by sales in trade, and it is also close to the drop of 12.5 percent (for the 4 months) in real wages paid by industry. Francini goes on to say that in view of that situation, maintaining the current recovery by Sao Paulo industry will depend on how exports develop under the influence of the recovery in the U.S. economy, which he regards as presenting "a large element of risk."

Concerning the components of the INA, Francini emphasizes that actual sales were up by 1.2 percent in April, or practically the same as during the first quarter, resulting in a 1.1-percent increase for the first 4 months of the year in relation to the same periods last year. At the same time, hours worked in production, which had declined by 2.7 percent during the first quarter, stabilized in April by dropping by 0.1 percent in relation to the same month in 1983.

Those results indicate that the effects of the rise in exports of industrialized products are also making themselves felt in the level of manpower use. As far as wages are concerned, there was a slight tendency for them to decline at a slower rate. Total real wages, which had dropped by 13.4 percent in the first quarter, declined by 9.7 percent in April.

11798

CSO: 3342/119

## PCC-SPONSORED CONFERENCE ON U.S. POLICY IN LATIN AMERICA

Havana CUBA SOCIALISTA in Spanish Mar-May 84 pp 40-56

[Article by Raul Valdes Vivo, member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party: "The Insurmountable Contradictions Between Latin America and American Imperialism"]

[Text] Balzac, the great French novelist, depicted madness in the obsession of a bourgeois merchant over hoarding his merchandise, refusing to let it out of his hands.

The United States has piled up contradictions and wrongs against Latin American countries for a century and a half, robbing Mexico of half of its territory.

The enormous economic advancement of the United States is partially based on the equally enormous underdevelopment of Latin America, an eternal victim of the greed and selfishness of American imperialism.

As early as 1889, Jose Marti, the brilliant leader of the national emancipation struggle of Cuba, warned that in our hemisphere, the most important problem was the confrontation between Latin American nations and the United States. Marti denounced the statesmen in Washington who proclaimed "that the entire north of America will belong to it and that the imperial right over the lower isthmus must be recognized."<sup>1</sup>

Precisely 70 years after Marti's warning, the victory of the Cuban Revolution marked the beginning of what he accurately foresaw: the era of "the second independence." This time, it is not a matter of the liquidation of the Spanish or Portuguese, English or French colonial yoke, but rather, of putting an end to the brutal American imperialist rule.

Naturally, social liberation is closely linked with the obtention of complete national liberation, which also confirms the example of Socialist Cuba.

Since the United States now represents the main enemy to world peace, that fight with a double liberating content: foreign oppression and class exploitation, is also part of the universal mobilization of all peoples against the danger of nuclear war.

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<sup>1</sup> Marti: "Then the Panama Canal was built on that isthmus," in "Obras Escogidas," Editora Politica, Havana, 1979, Vol 2, p 494.

Such basic ideas, long proclaimed by the Communist and workers parties and other revolutionary organizations of our continent, were contrasted with the current situation at the theoretical conference devoted to the issue of contradictions between Latin America-the Caribbean and the United States sponsored by the Communist Party of Cuba and REVISTA INTERNACIONAL (attended by over 80 parties and organizations, held at Convention Palace in Havana from 18 to 21 October 1983).

It is not our purpose to take an exhaustive look at such an important scientific event, at which 52 reports and addresses were presented, gathered together in the memoirs of the Communist Party of Cuba as soon as it had ended. This article will be confined to opinions shared by all participants in the collective experience and supporting them with information presented at the conference and some more recent.

The dramatic circumstance that at the very moment with the conference was closing, the announcement was made of the assassination of the prime minister of Grenada and great leader of its people's revolutionary process, Maurice Bishop -- who received the unanimous homage of all participants -- emphasized the value of the theoretical and political analysis of the difficult conditions in which the liberating struggle of our peoples takes place. Only a few days thereafter, on 25 October, when the American invasion of the tiny Caribbean island took place, the real truth was revealed more forcefully than any argument or figures could have shown: The contradictions between the United States and Latin America are insurmountable.

The conference unanimously proclaimed that the Latin American and Caribbean peoples, on the one hand, and the American people, on the other, have a common enemy in the enslaving power of the imperialist monopolies which, along with the Pentagon, dictate Washington's policy, what General Eisenhower called the "military-industrial complex." Demonstrations of American and Canadian workers on behalf of peace instead of war, against the arms race and for peace, were hailed.

Only a few days after the conference, in bidding farewell to the Cuban construction workers and technical assistants who heroically fell in Grenada, Fidel Castro expressed the solidary feelings of our peoples toward the United States with a warning that the latter act before it is too late. Fidel said: "Given the current conditions of our continent, a war of the United States against a Latin American people would lift the spirits and turn the sentiment of all Latin American nations against the aggressors. An unbridgeable gap would be opened between nations which, because they are in the same hemisphere, are summoned to live and work in peace, friendship and mutual respect." ("Granada, el Mundo Contra el Crimen," Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, Havana, 1983, p 254)

Participants pointed up the fundamental trait of the situation: The struggles of our peoples are developing in a significant fashion, with their specific characteristics, particular forms and speeds, within a general liberating process that has resumed the heroic traditions of the times of Simon Bolivar and Jose Marti, but which now revolves around the revolutionary working class and its allies in anti-imperialist action.

American imperialism, especially with the Reagan Administration, which, in its aggressiveness, adventurism and hangman's soul, shows how reactionary the reign of the capitalist monopolies is, wants to make democratic forces back down by the use of armed interventionism in Central America and the continuation of fascist dictatorships in the southern cone. This is part of the American policy which the World Peace Council has defined as "state terrorism." Wherever it has become impossible to maintain tyranny, the imperialists and their lackeys try to fabricate what has been called "controlled democracies" in order to prevent far-reaching changes.

In his words of greeting to conference delegates, Antonio Perez Herrero, alternate member of the CPC Politburo, emphasized the importance of the self-sacrificing struggles of our peoples, not only for themselves, but for everyone on the planet, all those attacked or threatened by that insane terrorist imperialist policy "from positions of strength" emanating from Washington.

"The destiny of Latin America has enormous influence on the political evolution of other areas. One has but to think what the liberation of Cuba has meant to the continent and beyond it, the significance to the world historic process of a Latin America truly free from imperialism, without even mentioning the impact of the fulfillment of Bolivar's dream of a single greater continental homeland."

In response to the essential question of the conference: "What is the basic contradiction between American imperialism and Latin America and the Caribbean?" Perez Herrero underlined the answer given by life itself: "The United States is not only bent on maintaining its already old neocolonial domination of Latin America (in colonial Puerto Rico), but is using every possible means to increase it as part of its global strategy of dominating the planet."

The Cuban leader exposed that kind of "Mein Kampf" of the Republican Party known as the "Santa Fe Document" and Reagan's lies in justifying his "anti-communist crusade" in our hemisphere. The United States is bent upon the absurdity of presenting the growing resistance of countries and nations on our continent to its domination as a mere conspiracy of the Soviet Union and Cuba. The Cuban Revolution -- not imported from anywhere, opposed in principle to the exportation of revolution -- is and will always be a supporter of allowing every nation on our continent, every people in the world, to decide its destiny freely. "That is the central idea binding the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community to the national liberation movement and all those in the world fighting for peace," Perez Herrero concluded.

In shedding light on the basic contradiction at present between our peoples and their common historic enemy, without a single exception, participants in the conference expressed their support for the heroic peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador and Cuba, against which the United States has drawn up concrete plans of aggression. The so-called "Kissinger Commission" report is nothing but a cover for trying to carry them out. Many perspicacious spokesmen of the Latin American bourgeoisie have seen this. What else could be expected of the diplomatic architect of the Vietnam War and the overthrow and assassination of Salvador Allende?

Imperialism has sentenced Sandino's Nicaragua to death, not because it is a new Cuba but because, as Fidel Castro said, for having gloriously become "a new Nicaragua." No longer is the blood clan of the Somozas in power, always in the service of Washington, but rather, the people. The National Reconstruction Government is bringing about profound changes such as the Agrarian Reform and is moving to develop the economy -- despite the imperialist blockade, the same suffered by Cuba for 25 years -- obtaining noteworthy successes in gradually liquidating secular problems: the poverty of the masses, unemployment, illiteracy, and so on.

The conference hailed the efforts of the Contadora Group aimed at finding peace in Central America by negotiations which the United States is in fact sabotaging. Washington rejects anything that might contribute to the peace and self-determination of peoples, including the many proposals of solutions honorable to everyone formulated by patriots in the Managua government or the Salvadoran patriotic forces, already with a third of the territory under the banners of the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation and the Revolutionary Democratic Front.

The United States has sent its troops against Grenada, virtually occupies Honduras and has turned it into what elsewhere was the "Saigon regime." Since the fascist Honduran regime lacks the strength to play the role of Israel or the South Africa of Central America, the imperialists push it to engage in growing provocations against Free Nicaragua. This without counting the many advisers which have long engaged in killing Nicaraguans, just as in the genocide of El Salvador and Guatemala, whose people have also risen up in the emancipating struggle.

For their part, alarmed by the presence in their territory of armed bands of the Nicaraguan counterrevolution in the border zone with Nicaragua, which even murder Costa Ricans, the Costa Rican people have resolutely come out against the American intention of dragging them into the fratricidal struggle which the United States is organizing in Central America, as the desperate alternative to the grandiose national liberating process.

All the speakers at the Havana conference expressed their complete conviction that the Central American peoples -- now at the epicenter of the continental revolutionary struggle -- will emerge victorious in the face of the imperialist escalade.

In Grenada, Reagan used the artillery on a small wounded bird that was already falling to the ground. That transforming process was collapsing following the death, not only of its leader, but also of the very possibility of any effective resistance on the part of the people. Despite this fact, the attitude of the Grenadan soldiers and the Cuban construction workers and assistants revealed what would have happened if the wings of the proud bird of the revolution had been left intact.

The Central American people have learned lessons from the tragedy of Grenada for preserving unity above and below, never underestimating the ferocity of the enemy or its scorn for the most basic laws of civilized international

coexistence, always intensifying vigilance and maintaining the highest degree of defensive military training.

If Reagan is insane enough to invade Nicaragua and El Salvador -- not to mention socialist Cuba, with its millions of well-armed and well-trained men -- there would not be a second Grenada, but a second Vietnam.

It is no secret that the final purpose of the growing Yankee interventionism in the region is to liquidate the Cuban Revolution. The imperialists cannot forgive the fact that for a quarter of a century, it has shown that for the Western Hemisphere as well, the essential definition of our time is valid: the transition from capitalism to socialism. The fact that socialism has fully triumphed in the country most under the dominion of the United States in all aspects (with the exception of colonial Puerto Rico) and that its absolutely independent and sovereign people display colossal successes in all areas and have a program of development extending until the beginning of the 21st century, which no other nation on the continent has even dreamed of having, fills imperialists with panic. They are unable to offer a way to put an end to oppression, exploitation, unemployment, poverty, backwardness, the lack of faith in the future and endless progress, as Cuba has done.

Following the invasion of Grenada, the Reagan Administration is seeking to turn the Caribbean Sea into an "American lake." It wants to plant military bases island by island, backing reactionary regimes in Jamaica, Barbados, Dominica, Santa Lucia and San Vicenter, which were the "Cains" used perfidiously against the people of Grenada, in short, to use its bayonets, dollars, terror and demagoguery to use the temporary advantage of the death of the Grenadan revolution and the military occupation of Grenada.

However, the acute socioeconomic problems and the desire for freedom of the Caribbean peoples cannot be solved using imperialist methods. The insolent presence of the marines has in fact been stepped up. The same thing is happening in Lebanon and wherever they are trampling national sovereignty, humiliating the people, acting as the "rapid deployment force" of the insatiable Yankee monopolies.

Revolutionary and democratic forces are regrouping in the Caribbean and, learning the painful lessons of Grenada, are hastening to regain lost ground.

There are two very significant names in the area now and in the past: Puerto Rico and Panama.

Colonial domination lasted for eight and a half decades, causing the forced emigration of 40 percent of the national population to the hated mother country and the continuing cultural aggression (against the language, traditions, the very history of the country which is and wants to be Latin American). But it is not everything in this continental tragedy. Now, with the Reagan Administration in power, Washington is again promoting the idea of turning Puerto Rico into a federal state in order to destroy that nationality completely, a nationality whose sons have never ceased fighting for liberation.

The Panamanian people are not abandoning their just struggle against the Yankee colonial presence in the most important zone of the country: the Canal. The reactionary rightist regime in the White House has never ceased sabotaging fulfillment of the Torrijos-Carter Accords providing for the return of real sovereignty over the Canal to the rightful owner: Panama. In the country, a complicated process is simultaneously underway in which the democratic forces are trying to maintain the country's nonaligned and independent policy recommended by General Torrijos and to achieve satisfaction of the people's demands.

On the same Caribbean island, two very different situations appear: that of the Dominican people, fighting to achieve a truly independent solution for the country and facing the same difficult conditions of any society dominated by big foreign capital and the local oligarchy; and that of the Haitian people, subjected to the long night of an obscurantist tyranny that cruelly represses any expression of rebellion, increasing the number of political prisoners and mass murder.

At the theoretical conference, a most encouraging phenomenon appeared for the forces of social change: A modification is occurring in the fact that while in Central America, the revolutionary process is in full swing, the south was experiencing the pro-imperialist counterrevolution which had temporarily put reactionary or frankly fascist regimes in power.

That imbalance is now a thing of the past. The southern nations are also recovering from the fascist wave of the 1970's and moving toward democratizing processes and antidictatorial struggles in Bolivia, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and Brazil.

Bolivia won the right to have a government that was not a product of the traditional military coups that had been backed by imperialism in one way or another, taking power away from the drug-trafficking rulers, the military tyrants made rich in drug trafficking to the United States, the real paradise of the worst vices. In a complicated process, the Bolivian people continue to fight.

Argentina has obtained the possibility of putting an end to the regime of the military dictatorship that turned out to be incapable of defending its sovereignty over the Malvina Islands during that kind of Grenadan operation a la British backed by Reagan. Joining the difficult fight for democratic stabilization that will put an end once and for all to the cycle of coups and the trend toward chaos, Argentine workers are making their demand that they no longer be made to bear the weight of the crisis and that the country's dependency on imperialism be ended.

Uruguay is the scene of courageous, concerted action of all its people, with the working class in the front lines, as shown by the grandiose general strike in mid January of this year, with the demand for "democracy now." The days of the dictatorship are truly numbered.

The same can be said of Chile. No longer are the bayonets blessed Washington capable of making the final decisions, although its bloody power may last through terror, if not through the masses.

In Brazil, the protests of the workers, peasants and white-collar workers are combining to fight hunger and the truly intolerable high cost of living, and there is an uncheckable mobilization of all sectors of the nation for a true democratization and foreign and domestic policy of the country truly independent of American imperialism.

Not even that shackled prison which Paraguay is escapes the popular rebirth that has shaken the entire southern cone and that is now becoming the main trait of the situation in every country on the continent. The demand for freedom, that an end be put to the savage terror of Stroessner and that the heroic communist leader Alfredo Maidana be produced alive foretells of fights for the overthrow of fascism.

If one takes countries with a bourgeois democracy such as Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru, one observes to what degree political life of the peoples is influenced by the desire not to continue imperialist dictates.

The situations in the countries with bourgeois democracy are now best described as highly changeable, beset as they are with scandals of misappropriations and the squandering of public monies and the surrender to the pressures of imperialism (although in general, one observes a certain reticence toward following the dictates of the IMF or supporting the openly interventionist policy of the United States).

For example, the Peruvian communists say that it is becoming more obvious that the contrast between the democratic-bourgeois, constitutional form exhibited by the regime and its real content is very real. They note (and this can also be said of Colombia or Bolivia, Argentina or Brazil) that the concessions to reactionaries make extremist reactionary military coups possible in the final analysis.

These unstable situations conceal two concepts: one imperialist, which seeks to save the fascist dictatorship, sometimes by disguising its real nature, or to use the inconsistent bourgeois democracy for its purposes of domination; and, at the same time, one supporting the people's right to radical, liberating, truly progressive change.

The communists and other revolutionary forces propose the latter concept, confirming it at the Havana conference.

The popular masses are every day becoming more aware that only their unity and action can impose the defeat of the concept that imperialism will maintain its dominion in crisis either by total brutal forces or by combining it with civil forms and certain freedoms. They realize that only by raising the level of the struggle and being prepared to move from one form to another, as dictated by the circumstances, can peoples make their own democratic concept prevail, a concept for which the Marxist-Leninists are fighting on the front lines.

The theoretical conference revealed that the terrible traces of the oppressive dominion of the United States can no longer be concealed behind empty words such as "democracy" or "Pan Americanism." They are the millions of unemployed,



the worst crisis of the century, the overwhelming foreign debts, the lack of any real prospect of progress. All this results in struggles, in new awareness on the part of the peoples, a desire for change and liberation.

It is not and could not be a question of a stright-line process. Triumphs alternate with a few temporary setbacks, such as Grenada, or with the achievement of less than what it would have been possible to obtain, but the net result is favorable to the anti-imperialist cause in all of Latin America.

One very important conclusion has emerged from the exchanges of parties and organizations promoting the cause: Washington can no longer dream about the "Latin Americanization" of the war it is promoting in Central America, which at the present time is the most advanced front in the liberating continental struggle. After the manifest betrayal of the United States of its supposed ally, the reactionary dictatorship of Argentina, at the time of the British aggression in the Malvinas, and in the midst of the whole process of mobilizing our peoples, no country in South America will easily send its soldiers to kill and die in Nicaragua or El Salvador. The scheme, conceived when there were two very different levels of struggle between the Central American region and South America, has become impossible. That is why there danger of a direct military intervention on the part of the United States is growing.

The following objective factor serves to unify all our peoples, in addition to their common historic origins, geography, culture and traditions and without any underestimation of the individual characteristics of the countries and areas: In most Latin American countries, foreign imperialist domination has imposed the feature of dependency on the uneven development of capitalism, making it even more contradictory and painful.

That dependency, the theoretical conference emphasized, is the instrument through which the American transnational companies carry out the systematic looting of our natural resources and the most ruthless exploitation of our peoples, poor peoples in potentially very rich countries!

What amount of strength does such an oppressive instrument have?

Although the great task of our peoples: the achievement of complete national and social liberation, is truly epic and filled with difficulties, both Cuba and now Central America, along with all that happens throughout Latin America, show that dependent capitalism historically lacks any future.

The desire of American imperialism always to obtain more from that instrument, weakened by its essential internal law of seeking excess profits, and the blind determination of the government of the United States to subject Latin America in every way and for everything to its overall strategy of world domination, accelerates the historic weakening of the system of big capital and the land-owning oligarchy on our continent. Its overthrow is inexorable sooner or later.

What response can then be given by the Reagan Administration?

Can one even imagine, as Fidel Castro asked, that the United States would ever try to do with Brazil what it did in Grenada?

The theoretical conference took an in-depth look at what the imperialist yoke has meant in the decisive area of the economy.

All participants emphasized two circumstances: It has become intolerable, not only for the working class, but for all of our nations, to suffer the growing usurious exploitation, the return to outright American neocolonialism, and the fact that the United States is doing everything possible to make Latin America and the so-called Third World in general bear the weight of its economic crises and a considerable part of its adventurous arms race.

They noted the evaluations of the Interamerican Development Bank which, despite the fact that it is controlled by imperialists, admits that in the 1970's, the monopolies took out of Latin America much more than the total investments in the region, extracting some \$80 billion.

Economic aggression was rightly denounced as the other side of the coin shown by blatant political interference and interventionism.

What are the mechanisms of this silent but equally brutal aggression?

There are four principal ones:

- 1) the relative drop in prices of basic export products of our countries compared with the spiraling prices of imports; selling cheap and buying at high prices.
- 2) the overwhelming debt with rising interest rates. In 1983 alone, this meant nearly \$30 billion to pay interests, in other words, 27 percent of the value of all exports. Even so, the foreign debt continues.
- 3) the protectionist measures implanted by the government of the United States on industrial products from the southern hemisphere.
- 4) the tragedy of starving nations; the growing food dependency, which increases hunger and worsens the trade balance of Latin America vis-a-vis the United States.

These are mechanisms that have plunged Latin America into an enormous financial crisis, making it owe over \$310 billion, over half of all that owed by the Third World.

The figures on the gross national product illustrate the critical period which the Latin American capitalist economy is going through.

During the 1970's, the GNP averaged an annual growth of 5.5 percent in Latin America. Naturally, the humble people were not the main benefactors since they continued to live in poverty and that growth ceaselessly aggravated the acute socioeconomic problems. At the same time, the result was comparable with that obtained by imperialist countries whose overall GNP grew scarcely more than 3 percent.

There was talk of the "Brazilian miracle" during those years and the bourgeoisie of other countries on the continent dreamed of it. Fascism presented itself as abominable but "effective" and the alliance with the United States seemed to enjoy an argument of considerable weight.

With the 1980's, illusions began to die. By 1981, Latin America in general had dropped to a growth rate of only 1.5 percent, which varied from country to country. In 1982 came the antimiracle: what bourgeois economists ironically called "negative growth" -- meaning that the GNP dropped for our continent. This had not occurred on our continent since the Great Depression of 1929. In some countries, the drop was dramatic, varying from 5 percent in Argentina to 15 percent in Chile.

For example, the "Brazilian miracle" left nothing but the raid on markets by housewives desperately worried over their hungry children, \$100 billion in foreign debts, millions of unemployed.

Shortly after the revolutionaries meeting in Havana presented this balance sheet, it was confirmed by the annual report on 1983 by the Latin American Economic Commission.

The GNP last year dropped 3.3 percent, according to official government figures; 5.6 percent per capita.

In contrast, the report itself admits, Cuba's economy rose by 4 percent.

"Two central facts characterized the economic evolution of Latin America," said the executive secretary of ECLA, Enrique Iglesias, in 1983. "The first was the worsening of the crisis initiated in 1981 and the second was the noteworthy effort of adjustment made by most countries."

It is already known that "adjustment" means the closing of companies and the collapse of entire sectors, mass layoffs, an extension of the work day and an intensification of its exploitation in practice, higher prices on basic items and finally, the application of the supposed "reorganization" measures imposed by the International Monetary Fund in the service of imperialism.

As indicated at the conference, this suffocating situation is pushing local bourgeoisies into difficult and contradictory negotiations with America. More than a few propose that they be overall. The meeting of SELA [Latin American Economic System] in September 1983 and the summit conference of chiefs of state or governments or their representatives in Quito, quoted by the president of Ecuador, Hurtado Larrea, in January of this year, expresses the trend. In addition -- and Socialist Cuba has hailed this effort -- countries in the region understand more and more that they must join together in economic trade, in the strengthening of their weak economies, in creating new support for their balance of payment, the financing of exports and obtention of the best price for their basic products.

Solutions are being presented, timidly by some governments, boldly by others, as an alternative of what is imposed with imperial arrogance by the United

States through organizations such as the IMF, the Inter-American Development Bank, and so on.

One significant fact was put forward by the Havana meeting: Unlike in the 1970's, no one can escape the Yankee looters any longer.

Will the oil-producing countries be an exception? Not any more.

Venezuela, following a relative boom, is already experiencing the "lean years." It is in the midst of a harsh financial crisis, those gestation and aggravation are the responsibility of American monopolistic capital, in collusion with its partners, the native monopolies. In numbers: a foreign debt of \$37 billion.

For the first time in half a century, Mexico's economy is declining, inflation reached 100 percent in 1983 and the foreign debt is one of the biggest in the hemisphere. At the same time, the government's fiscal debt reached record levels. This combines with Mexico's traditional problems with the United States over the millions of "Chicanos," its economic immigrants who, along with the Puerto Ricans and also the American Blacks, are discriminated against and even treated with cruelty in the north. This in territory that once belonged to Mexico and stolen by the so-called "good neighbor"!

Ecuador (which was once the promising land of the "second miracle," after Brazil) has a revealing picture.

The native oligarchy, linked with international financial capital -- mainly Yankee -- seeks to relieve the internal crisis of Ecuador, molding the national economy to the rigorous decisions of the IMF, which for the country has meant: a bigger foreign debt (\$7 billion), making the Central Bank bear the weight of the private foreign debt, opening the domestic market to American goods and capital, a higher cost of credit for small and medium-size industries, the freezing of wages and salaries, declining spending on public health, housing, education, and so on.

Participants in the theoretical conference supported the statements of the editor of REVISTA INTERNACIONAL, Yuri Skliarov, who delivered the closing address at the fruitful event.

"The solution to the problem of war and peace, the most important problem for all mankind at the present time, will determine the solution to other overall problems manifested by the other nations."

Skliarov said that on the prestigious tribune of the international communist movement, the leaders of scientific Marxist and brother parties in different countries (among them Latin America and the Caribbean) convincingly show the decisive role of real socialism in the battle waged by anti-imperialist forces in the central directions of world social development: for the solidification of peace and social progress. He emphasized that in examining the problems of Latin America, many authors have emphasized the need to strengthen the international cohesion of revolutionary forces in the fight against American imperialism, which in turn tries to bring international reactionaries behind the banner of anticommunism.

The theoretical conference showed the irreconcilable nature of the contradictions between Latin America and the United States and clearly revealed the truth that communists and all revolutionaries are trying, country by country and on a continental scale, to unite all those who aspire to national independence, peace, democracy and social progress.

The historic contradictions between the imperialism of the United States and the peoples of Latin America have an objective, permanent nature. They are manifested in all spheres of social life. They point up the suffocating shackles of dependency, which in various forms and degrees express the extension of the claws of the monopolistic capitalist corporations over the lives of nations that have not yet achieved their "second independence."

However, Latin America and the Caribbean long ago ceased to be the "backyard" of the United States, as Reagan would like to make them. Our region has embarked on the path to real liberation with the Cuban Revolution. The Nicaraguan Sandinist revolution marked a new milestone in the fight of Latin American nations.

Mutual solidarity is growing with the fight of the peoples, which, working under different conditions, aspire to authentic democracy, self-determination and national and social liberation.

The strength of peoples and governments opposed to the policy of aggression and subjugation which imperialism tries to impose is growing.

The conference showed that the objective social base has expanded for successfully facing, despite temporary setbacks, the harmful plans of the Reagan Administration. Imperialism tries to reverse every democratic, liberating, progressive achievement of the people's forces by resorting to aggression, blackmail and pressure in order to impede their unity and cohesion.

Communist and other revolutionary forces in the region value the need for the broadest unity of all those affected by the imperialist rape and for mutual solidarity as a guarantee for hindering its designs, intimately linked with the firm decision to defend and consolidate its conquests.

The objective contradictions between imperialism and the Latin American and Caribbean nations can only be resolved by preventing imperialist meddling in their fight for democracy, the national and social liberation that destroys the shackles of dependency and to bring peace to the region and the world.

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## HISTORICAL REVIEW OF U.S.-CUBAN RELATIONS

Havana CUBA SOCIALISTA in Spanish Mar-May 84 pp 92-128

[Report drafted by the Cuban delegation to the international theoretical conference "Contradictions Between the United States and Latin America," presented by Antonio Diaz Ruiz-Soto, rector of the CPC Nico Lopez Advanced School]

## [Text] Introduction

The peoples of Latin America identify with one another because of the existence of common traits, but at the same time, each one places a special stamp on its historical development. Cuba, which was the last colony to free itself from Spain in Latin America, became the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere. In order to achieve that historical milestone, the Cuban people had to fight for decades against the Spanish domination, first, and the imperialist Yankee domination next.

The Central Report to the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba describes how, in the course of history, "both in the past and present centuries, as a colony or neocolony, before and after wars of independence (...), the exploiter classes of our country and the United States were always powerful obstacles to the liberation of Cuba."<sup>1</sup>

An outside factor that has had significant weight in the history of our people has been our relationship with the United States. From the earliest days of colonization, the privileged geographic position of Cuba turned it into a point of extreme interest for European colonial powers and later, an object coveted by the United States.

In the early decades of the past century, the vast majority of the peoples of Latin America emancipated themselves from the Spanish colonial dominion. Cuba, on the other hand, remained "faithful to the mother country" because the native pro-slavery class of that time subordinated the interests of national independence to its class economic interests.

To these special circumstances of Cuba, one must add the manifest desire of the United States to acquire the Caribbean island. Its inspiration was Thomas Jefferson, who in 1805 officially expressed those interests.

The year 1809 marked the beginning of the blackmail and intrigue that have always characterized the foreign policy of the United States. Jefferson sent "special agent" James Wilkinson on the mission of bribing Someruelos, then governor of the island, so that he would facilitate the transfer of Cuba to the United States.

The correlation of forces in the earliest decades of the 19th century was not favorable to the United States: The country was still too weak to face a power across the seas, awaiting the fulfillment of John Quincy Adams' prophecy made in 1823: "There are laws governing politics, like those of universal gravity, and if some morning, swept from the tree by a strong wind, Cuba should fall to the earth, separated from Spain and unable to get along by itself, it then could appeal only to the American Union, which, by virtue of that same natural law, could not expel it from its breast."<sup>2</sup>

The marked interest in Cuba came to the forefront and very quickly generated the first contradictions with the United States, becoming obvious in the course of the Cuban historic process. These contradictions are expressed in the period of the Spanish domination, throughout the period of the neocolony and with even greater strength, from the very first day that the Cuban people permanently broke the chains binding them to dependency on the United States on 1 January 1959.

An obvious contradiction between the United States and Cuba became manifest during the early decades of the 19th century and it was the United States' endeavor to prevent Cuba's independence. One should recall that Simon Bolivar, in the instructions issued for the celebration of the Panama Congress in 1826, expressed the need for Cuban independence: "While the islands of Puerto Rico and Cuba belong to the Spanish Government, the latter will have a means to maintain discord, promote turbulence and even threaten independence and peace in different parts of America."<sup>3</sup>

Following a 15-year fight against Spain, Bolivar showed his interest in continuing the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico and Cuba.

However, the United States, fearful that an expedition to Cuba might start from Mexico and Colombia, managing to separate it from Spain, spared no diplomatic efforts to establish its position of strength with respect to Cuban independence. In a message sent to the Panamanian Congress, the then president of the United States, John Quincy Adams, said: "The status of the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico is a matter of deep interest exercising direct influence on the current and future interests of our Union."<sup>4</sup>

Thus, the government of the United States preferred to have Cuba under the sovereignty of a European nation, which made it the accomplice of the continued colonial yoke.

American opposition to help to Cuba and Puerto Rico had a considerable influence in preventing the Panamanian Congress from making a precise agreement on the independence of both islands.

Around 1840, the United States justified the need to take control of Cuba based on its geographic proximity, the degree of development achieved by its trade on the island and above all, the agreement of economic interests of the native slavery advocates and the owners of plantations in the southern state of Florida. Within this context, the harmful annexationist current developed in Cuba, seeing union with the United States as the only way to free itself from the Spanish Administration.

However, the American Civil War became a force of contention of the annexationist movement of Cuban slavery advocates. Nevertheless, American administrations continued to show their opposition to the pro-independence ideas and struggles of the Cuban people.

During the heroic and tenacious combat waged by our people against Spanish domination, American governments made their hostility obvious. The government of the United States never showed any sign of sympathy for the just Cuban cause. On the contrary, it helped Spain maintain its rule over Cuba.

Following the first dispute between Cuba and Spain in 1878, during the period of turbulent peace extending until 1895, the United States hindered plans for any recommencement of the war, stepping up the vigilance of its navy over expeditions to Cuba.

The policy of the United States on Cuba throughout the pro-independence struggle begun in 1895 was more vulgar than the following during the period including the war of 1868. Through propaganda hostile to Spain, it laid the way for justifying its entry into the conflict and even committed the horrendous crime of organizing an attack on itself. This was the sad episode of the blowing up of the "Maine."

Thus, in 1898, following three decades of heroic battles against Spanish rule and when the Cubans had practically gained victory with their own efforts, the United States intervened in the war.

Our national hero Jose Marti wisely noted the danger to the economic and political independence of Latin America, especially Cuba, of the American policy. In referring to the American International Conference held in 1889, he said: "Spanish America saved itself from the tyranny of Spain and now, after seeing with seasoned eyes the background, causes and factors of the phenomenon, it is urgent to say -- because it is the truth -- that for Spanish America the time has come to declare its second independence."<sup>5</sup> History will corroborate the truth of such statements.

In 1898, American authorities prevented Cuban troops from entering Santiago de Cuba, thus initiating for the Cuban people their battle against Yankee domination in our nation.

Until the final years of the war, the United States never concealed its scorn for the Cuban cause. The so-called "champions of freedom and justice" justified until the end the domination of one American nation by a European power, since the Joint Resolution was nothing more than a mere act of political demagoguery.



Our people also exhibited their patriotism and unyielding national spirit vis-a-vis the disdain for the emerging imperialism. An eloquent demonstration of this is the letter sent by Lt Gen Calixto Garcia to General Shafter, head of the Yankee interventionist forces that took Santiago de Cuba: "...In Santiago, you have left in office the very Spanish authorities against whom I fought for three years as enemies of Cuban independence (...).

"An absurd rumor, one unworthy of credit, is circulating, General, to the effect that the order to prevent my army from entering Santiago de Cuba stemmed from the fear of vengeance and reprisals against the Spaniards. Allow me to protest the slightest shadow of any such thought because we are not a savage people ignorant of the principles of civilized war. We are a poor, ragged army, as poor and ragged as was the army of your ancestors in their noble war for the independence of the United States of America, but unlike the heroes of Saratoga and Yorktown, we respect our cause too much to taint it with barbarousness and cowardliness."<sup>6</sup>

With this arrogant attitude toward the Cuban Army of Liberation, characterized by intrigue and humiliation, the United States would begin its imperialist policy toward Cuba.

The Spanish-American War, characterized by Lenin as the first imperialist war, exposed the reactionary and rapacious essence of imperialism.

The United States managed to dissolve the Assembly of Representatives and dismiss the Liberating Army, thus freeing the way to occupation, through which the United States would achieve its objective of turning the island into a neocolony.

Beginning in 1902, Cuba was formally an independent country, but in fact, it was subject to economic and financial dependency on Wall Street.

The legal instruments used by the Yankee imperialists to carry out their policy in Cuba were the odious Platt Amendment, whose pivotal point was the humiliating article granting American officials the right to intervene militarily in Cuba, and the Reciprocal Trade Treaty of 1903, which constituted the economic mechanism facilitating the penetration of American capital and economic dependency in a more general sense.

Imperialist domination in our country during the first half of the 20th century left a profound mark on all aspects of the island's spiritual and social life. It awakened the rise of the anti-imperialist movement, especially beginning with the early 1920's, when the economic crisis revealed the vulnerability of a dependent economy and the serious political consequences resulting from it.

Cuba's neocolonial dependency meant that beginning in the 1930's, the crisis in its economy would become permanent and insoluble within the framework of the capitalist society. A contradiction emerged between the need for its own economic development and the ever greater control of the imperialist monopolies.

The revolutionary wave of the 1930's in Latin America was also manifest in Cuba. Under Roosevelt's presidency, the United States tried new mechanisms for control over the island. The new imperialist tactic was aimed at containing the revolutionary movement of countries in the area.

Although in 1933 the United States still claimed the same right that had caused it to intervene directly in Cuba in 1906 and 1912, the peak of the real anti-imperialist movement led it to indirect ways of preserving its interference in Cuban internal affairs.

The Welles Mediation thus emerged in order to find a solution for the political crisis that had resulted from the struggle of revolutionary forces against the brutal tyranny of Machado.

Through the Welles procedure, the United States forced a government on Cuba that was against the will of the masses. With its customary policy of force, it tried to seek a way out of the crisis, for diplomatic moves were backed by the deployment of an American naval squadron off the Cuban coast.

The United States once again cut short the Cuban revolutionary process. However, the heroic effort of the 1930's bore its fruit by putting an end to the odious Platt Amendment.

Nevertheless, imperialism still maneuvered to create the illusion that times would be different, negotiating in August 1934 a new Reciprocal Trade Treaty, which meant greater dependency on American interests.

At the close of the 1930's, the domination and subordination of the national oligarchy to imperialism was more complete. This was followed by a period of revolutionary ebb, although the fascist swell on an international scale and the fight against it, along with internal factors, resulted in some democratic measures such as: legalization of the Communist Party, the founding of the CTC [Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions] and finally, the promulgation of the constitution in 1940. Of the latter, it can be said that it did not transcend the sphere of the bourgeois republic, but its broad articles reflected the strength gained by the people's movement and stamped it with a progressive nature at the time.

Following World War II, the "authentic" governments of Ramon Grau San Martin and Carlos Prío Socarras served as an instrument for the application of the "cold war" policy in Cuba.

With the United States strengthened and with the competing powers beaten in the Western hemisphere, that country was forced to change its economic policy regarding Latin America. It is true that during the war, the interests of the United States and those of the Latin American national bourgeoisie coincided to some extent. But after the conflict, the United States reoriented its policy in order to further its positions. It replaced the old, blatant formulas with more subtle methods of interference in the internal affairs of Latin America.

From the United States, the anticommunist, antiworker policy of McCarthyism reached out to Cuba.

During the decade of the 1950's, "authenticism" revealed the crisis in bourgeois institutions. Throughout those years, representative democracy and bourgeois parliamentarianism were not in keeping with the aspirations of Yankee imperialism of perpetuating its political dominion or with those of the local oligarchy of protecting its economic class interests.

In the face of the profound economic and political crisis affecting Cuba and anticipating the possible explosion of a revolutionary situation, the national oligarchy, in accordance with American imperialists, accepted the sending of the Truslow Mission for the purpose of seeking a counterrevolutionary way out of the crisis.

It suited the reactionary rightist circles of the national oligarchy and American entrepreneurs on the island wishing to preserve the rule of the monopolies and contribute to a strengthening of the positions of American capital. The reactionary essence of the Truslow plan was revealed in its antiworker, anti-communist and antinational orientation.

The attempt of the Truslow Mission to strengthen the economic and political influence of imperialism in Cuba corresponded to the sympathy and complacency with which they shortly thereafter planned the coup d'etat of 10 March 1952.

The coup was not an isolated event, but rather, responded to the overall imperialist strategy followed in Latin America following World War II.

The Programmatic Platform of the Communist Party of Cuba states: "The coup further undermined the independence and sovereignty of Cuba. It opened the country's doors even wider to Yankee monopolies, promoted the interests of Cuban and foreign landowners and increased exploitation...."<sup>7</sup>

The contradictions inherent in the neocolonial status became more acute on 10 March 1952.

The clash between the productive forces and the production relationships, between exploiters and the exploited and the deepening of the contradiction between the people and Yankee imperialism achieved a degree of acuteness never before seen. The tyranny-people contradiction came to the forefront.

Aware of the repudiation of the coup d'etat, the United States sent in an army, navy and air force mission two days ahead of time to which Batista resorted constantly in search of advice with the resurgence of the revolutionary struggle beginning with the attack on the Moncada Barracks on 26 July 1953. At the same time, the government of the United States maintained sustained financial, political and military support throughout the period of insurrection.

At the close of December 1958, the vigorous offensive of the Rebel Army made victory irreversible, but the forces of oppression could not be resigned to

the loss of power. Following the flight of the dictator, the so-called Civic-Military Government Junta was set up based on the plan drawn up and approved by the United States.

But the course of history was destined to be different. On 1 January 1959, Fidel Castro declared in Santiago: "This time, the revolution will not be thwarted. This time, fortunately for Cuba, the revolution will truly come to fruition. It will not be like in 1895, when the Americans came to take over the country. They intervened at the last minute and afterwards, did not even allow Calixto Garcia, who had fought for 30 years, to enter Santiago de Cuba."<sup>8</sup>

The unity of the Rebel Army and the people, joined together in the general strike, led to the failure of the imperialist maneuvers of the military coup.

In the Central Report to the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, Fidel Castro emphasized how, for the first time in history, "imperialism had to face a Latin American nation without a repressive army and with an armed people."<sup>9</sup>

#### Policy of American Imperialism Toward Cuba From Eisenhower to Reagan

The bewilderment of American politicians and officials over the channel taken by the Cuban Revolution beginning with the victory of January 1959 should not be surprising. The revolutionary force that took the people into power had been formed cut off from the traditional bourgeois parties, which always waited for signs of approval from the government of the United States before the main guidelines of its political conduct.

Fidel's revolutionary strategy for taking power defined ways to solve Cuban political and social problems and provided the main lines of revolutionary practice. The analysis of the head of the revolution demonstrated the existence of objective conditions for the revolutionary struggle and the possibility of creating subjective conditions for channeling the desires and will for change of the broad masses of the people, which subsequently made our people the first to put an end to imperialist rule and conquer their second and final independence.

The arrogance of Yankee imperialism, its limited capacity for an objective analysis of Latin American social problems, its scorn for our peoples, its real power over the Latin American picture, its errors in calculation prevented it from recognizing the true possibilities of success of the Cuban Revolution, an authentic revolutionary process fully identified with the interests of the working, exploited people and consequently, opposed in principle to its interests and those of the national bourgeoisie, as later shown by events.

Failure to recognize the laws of history is the fundamental cause of the explanations given by bourgeois theoreticians of the Cuban Revolution. The existence of insoluble contradictions between the interests of Yankee imperialism and the interests of the peoples of Latin America explains the essence of imperialist policy on the region in general and Cuba in particular.

The history of relations between Cuba and the United States from 1959 to the present has been and could be nothing but part of the history of the contradictions between Yankee imperialism and the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean. In one of the poles of this confrontation, Cuba represents the interests of social progress. The objective and subjective conditions of our process, framed in the Latin American historical context and the ratio of forces in the world arena gave our revolutionary process the special feature of being the first on the continent to produce qualitative changes in the socioeconomic and political structures and to mark in a singular fashion the initiation of the dismemberment of imperialist might in the region.

The foreign policy at the beginning of the Cuban Revolution, based on the indestructible unity of the people, the Revolutionary Government and the party, in keeping with the historic objectives of the revolution, constitutes the stable element of this confrontation in the face of which all attempts of imperialism to divert it from its principles have failed.

At the other pole of the confrontation is the United States. Since the triumph of the Cuban Revolution, three Democratic and four Republican administrations have been in control of the American Government. Their common denominator in relations with our country has been their refusal to accept an essential and irreversible fact: Since 1959, Cuba has ceased being a neocolony of the United States. In addition, all American administrations in one way or another have pursued the following essential objectives regarding Cuba: 1) isolating Cuba; 2) discrediting Cuba and preventing its example from serving as an inspiration for other peoples of Latin America; 3) denying and using all possible means to prevent Cuba's access to resources and technology necessary for its development; 4) fomenting internal problems in Cuba; and 5) in the final analysis, achieving total destruction of the Cuban revolutionary process.

The existence of these common strategic objectives, which emanate from the arrogance and aggressiveness of imperialism, does not exempt American foreign policy from tactical differences for Cuba, expressed in different ways under the different American administrations and even within a single administration, depending on the different internal and external factors affecting American foreign policy on Latin America and particularly Cuba. These factors include the following:

- 1) an increasing willingness to fight on the part of the masses in Latin America and the Caribbean and development of national liberation movements, whose objectives are increasingly based on social liberation and the consolidation and growing strength of socialism in our country;
- 2) an increase in the might of socialism in the world and the development of the international workers and communist movement and national liberation movements;
- 3) the inability of American imperialism to play the role of international gendarme on all continents simultaneously in the face of the advance of progressive forces;

- 4) the profound economic crisis shaking the contemporary capitalist world;
- 5) the interimperialist contradictions affecting the growing caution of the traditional allies of the United States in support for its foreign policy;
- 6) the domestic problems of the United States, which are worsened by the economic crisis, the existence of influential sectors which, without abandoning strategic objectives, recognize the failure of the policy of force and, in opposition to the sectors of the extreme right, recommend a realistic policy on the region and especially Cuba; and
- 7) the circumstantial phenomena of the election policies of American political parties.

The correlation of these factors have shaped the foreign policy of the United States on Cuba throughout the different administrations that have succeeded one another since the revolutionary triumph of 1959.

Beginning in 1959, the policy of the Eisenhower administration on Cuba was characterized by campaigns of slander, help for war criminals, support for domestic counterrevolutionaries through the CIA, criminal acts of sabotage, from the blowing up of the "La Coubre" to the bombing of sugar mills, constant violations of air and maritime space, blackmail against countries trading with Cuba, the manipulation of the OAS for counterrevolutionary purposes, the economic and commercial blockade and the planning of a direct military invasion of our country. In the Latin American sphere, the Eisenhower government joined with Brazil in February of 1960 in the so-called Pan American Operation, the first reformist alternative pitted against the Cuban Revolution, and issued veiled threats to counteract the example of Cuba.

The government of John F. Kennedy (1961-1963) faced the growing power of socialism in the international arena. During his administration, there was a certain change in certain aspects of the foreign policy of the United States, mainly motivated, among other things, by the increase in the nuclear power of the Soviet Union, which was already capable of responding to an attack by the United States. The strategy prevailing up to that time, a massive nuclear response to the Soviet Union, was therefore inapplicable. The United States therefore turned to a policy of detente with the USSR and worked out new military doctrines to contain the advance of national liberation struggles, mainly through local wars.

In Latin America, following the failure of the Pan American Operation, Kennedy launched the Alliance for Progress as a new reformist option and in addition, tried to annihilate our revolution through direct aggression, even the nuclear blackmail of the October Crisis in 1962. Thus, in 1961 and 1962, the Cuban Revolution faced the peak of Washington's anti-Cuban policy: the Bay of Pigs in April 1961 and the military blockade of the island in October 1962.

Between the Bay of Pigs (the first major military defeat of American imperialism in Latin America) and the October Crisis, the Kennedy Administration stepped up

the economic blockade. A total embargo of Cuban-American trade was declared in February 1962. Operation Mongoose was launched, the second major plan after the Bay of Pigs, aimed at defeating the revolution through violent means using all kinds of subversive actions of the CIA against Cuba. The anti-Cuban propaganda campaign was extended through the Peace Corps and mass communications media.

Following the victory of the Cuban people at the Bay of Pigs and in the face of imminent aggression by the United States, Cuba took measures to guarantee its defense, with the support of the USSR. This led Kennedy to bring the world to the brink of nuclear catastrophe. The way in which the crisis was solved was analyzed by Comrade Fidel Castro at the First Congress of the party, where he emphasized how the United States "was forced into the pledge not to invade Cuba."

Following the October Crisis, the Kennedy Administration discarded direct aggression, but maintained its hostility to all other aspects, continuing the economic blockade. Nevertheless, the idea of a possible political settlement with Cuba began to take shape among leaders of the Democratic Party in 1963. This idea would be included in the policy of "building bridges" with the socialist system, replacing military aggression with attempts at ideological subversion of the Cuban process in order to undermine the revolution from the inside. When this policy began to take shape, Kennedy was assassinated.

In his book "The Bay of Pigs," published in 1979, American author P. Wyden, who is far from sympathizing with our revolution, evaluated the policy of Kennedy and of the United States in general toward Cuba in the following terms: "The creators of American policy have the custom of underestimating the strength and firmness of people who committed the sin of not having been born in the United States."

The government of Lyndon B. Johnson (1963-1969), unlike the administrations of Eisenhower and Kennedy, saw its possibilities of direct military aggression aimed at our country limited by four main factors:

- 1) the advances of the Cuban Revolution in all areas: economic, political-ideological, social and military;
- 2) the escalation of genocide by the United States against Vietnam. Comrade Fidel Castro told in various speeches how the fight of the heroic Vietnamese people against Yankee aggression weakened imperialism and gave us time to prepare ourselves and arm ourselves better.
- 3) the pledge not to engage in a direct military attack on Cuba, made during the 1962 October Crisis;
- 4) the firm international solidarity of the USSR and other socialist countries, Third World nations and all progressive mankind.

Despite these factors, imperialism did not cease attacking our revolution using all possible means, trying to isolate it internationally, strengthening the

economic blockade, furthering acts of subversion and sabotage and engaging in countless acts of aggression from the Guantanamo Naval Base, at the cost of lives and casualties among Cuban soldiers and workers, the hijacking of Cuban fishing boats, infiltration and sabotage by agents of the CIA and the sabotage and bombing of factories, among many other forms of aggression.

The constant defamation of our revolution through the mass communications media available to imperialist propaganda aimed at Cuba and the entire world, completed the picture of hostility and the ransom of our country under the administration of Lyndon B. Johnson.

The governments of Richard Nixon (1969-1974) and Gerald Ford (1974-1976) had in Henry Kissinger the main theoretician and executor of American foreign policy. These administrations were aware, as Kissinger stated, that the United States was in an "era of limitations" (meaning limitations on power because of the change in the ratio of forces and the nuclear parity of the United States and the Soviet Union), so that they promoted a reaccommodation in relations with the USSR through political and commercial ties including, among other objectives, asking the Soviet Government for a decrease in aid to national liberation movements.

Between 1969 and 1971, the Nixon Administration drafted new plans against Cuba, using the counterrevolutionary groups abroad and the CIA, which organized activities including the Torriente Plan, which received great financial backing from exiles. It engaged in aggressive actions such as the attack on the Boca de Sama country residence in October 1971. It helped the counterrevolutionary organization Alpha 66, which kidnapped 11 Cuban fishermen in May 1970.

Within this context, Nixon and Kissinger initiated an artificial crisis involving an alleged nuclear submarine base in the Cuban area of Cienfuegos. Their purpose was to obtain Congress' approval of an increase in the military budget.

In addition, since 1968, contradictions between the interests of the United States and Latin America, revealed in the heroic fights of revolutionaries and people's forces in the 1960's, emerged in a patriotic and nationalistic trend, represented by progressive military governments in Peru, Panama and Bolivia. This situation, along with the positions of other bourgeois-democratic type governments, gave rise to the beginning of a continental movement of rapprochement with Cuba, whose first expression was the Vina del Mar Consensus. This process was strengthened with the triumph of Salvador Allende in Chile and the decolonization of a group of English-speaking countries in the Caribbean, which was reflected in an increase in the number of Latin American nations belonging to the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, of which Cuba was the solitary founder in the area since 1961. Simultaneously, Congress' opposition to Nixon's policy and particularly to the Vietnam War increased.

In the new international and regional situation, the increasing consolidation of socialist construction and the strengthening of the international positions of the Cuban Revolution revealed the failure of the policy previously followed on Cuba. In American political circles, the idea gained strength that the



policy of nonrecognition had deprived the United States of any possibility of exerting influence on Cuba and that the possible normalization of relations would make it possible to try to undermine the revolution from the inside.

Conditions for the initiation of a restoration of contact between Cuba and the United States by official channels were created during the administration of Gerald Ford, although this trend had already been evident previously.

In 1973, the first bilateral agreement was signed on airplane highjackings and there was limited development of commercial and sports contacts. In April 1974, in the face of pressure from the governments of Argentina and Canada, Washington was forced to approve special licenses for Yankee subsidiaries in those two countries for the negotiation of agreements with Cuba.

Contributing to these steps toward rapprochement was the failure of Nixon's anti-Cuban policy and his total loss of prestige after the defeat of Vietnam and the Watergate scandal. Another factor contributing to the revision of Cuban policy was the pressure of powerful economic and political interests, for which the blockade and open hostility against Cuba were inadequate in the development of the American foreign policy which they sought.

The 16th Advisory Conference of OAS Ministers of Foreign Relations, held in July 1975, freed countries so desiring to reestablish relations with our country (by that date, nine countries had already made such a decision in a sovereign fashion, thus contesting previous accords of the OAS). In 1975, the report of a group of American congressmen was published on detente in relations with Cuba, drafted based on information obtained in a trip to the island by senators J. Javitts and C. Pell. Later came Senator McGovern's visit. All this contributed to an attenuation of Washington's aggressiveness toward Cuba to some extent.

In July 1975, the United States lifted the ban on exports to Cuba of products of foreign subsidiaries of American companies.

In March of 1976, according to a Gallup poll, only 32 percent of all Americans opposed the restoration of relations with Cuba.

In December 1976, on the occasion of the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, Comrade Fidel Castro reiterated the well-known position of Cuba on the problem of relations with the United States in the following terms: "It is undeniable that the establishment of normal relations between the United States and Cuba, and renewal of trade and financial exchanges, would give our country the possibility of using technology now inaccessible because of the Yankee blockade or of receiving plants and equipment for our economic plans at a lower shipping cost and on better financial terms. But what is important for us in all of this is our policy of principles (...).

"It is a matter of negotiating on an equal footing and we have already said that for us, the blockade is a knife held at our throats, which determines a bargaining position we can never accept."<sup>10</sup>

Nevertheless, starting with the victory of the democratic forces in Angola, which prevented that country from falling into the hands of its puppet leaders, and partly because of the demands of the election campaign of 1976, the Ford Administration halted the steps toward rapprochement and began to question Cuba's solidarity with the people of Puerto Rica and then to ask for a withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist troops in Angola as a requirement for moving toward a bilateral settlement.

In October 1976, encouraged by the campaign against Cuba unleashed by Washington, the counterrevolutionary terrorist groups, organized and trained by the CIA, committed a criminal act of sabotage, known as the crime of Barbados, against a Cuban civilian aircraft in flight in which 73 persons perished. This caused the Cuban Government to nullify the Air and Maritime Piracy Accord signed with the United States in 1973.

Despite this fact, the trend favorable to an opening with Cuba was again manifested at the conclusion of the election process. In November 1976, after losing the elections, Ford approved permission to fly over the United States for planes belonging to the Cuban Aviation Enterprise and suspended espionage flights over Cuba.

The initial policy of the administration of James Carter (1977-1981) toward Cuba corresponded to the perception of broad groups of Americans that, following the failure of the aggressive policies of five administrations, it would be useful for American interests to seek formulas that would constructively solve the historic conflict between the two countries. This new concept was welcomed by the Cuban people and government, enamored of peace and always willing to discuss the Cuban-American conflict on the basis of absolute respect and mutual equality.

Cyrus Vance, then secretary of state, publicly admitted that the policy of blockade had been mistaken and ineffective. The main American leaders, taking this same tone, announced upon taking office that the Carter Administration intended to change the United States' policy toward Cuba. In keeping with this, Washington ratified the suspension of flights of American spy planes over Cuban territory and it was decided not to ratify the ban on travel to Cuba without previous authorization from the State Department.

Following a series of moves and actions on both sides, interest sections were set up on 1 September 1977 in Washington and Havana for the purpose of opening up a channel of communication between the two governments, facilitating the beginning of a process of negotiations for the normalization of relations. Gradual lifting of the Cuban blockade, implicit in this process, did not materialize and the very process was halted, which could be noted by mid 1978.

In 1979 and 1980, the rightist trend of the Carter Administration, because of inconsistencies in his policies and election and other reasons, caused the more reactionary sectors to orchestrate various "crises" with Cuba, checking the policy of steps and positive moves. An example of this was the Shaba "crisis," which was an attempt to divert and falsify the internationalist role of Cuba in Africa; the "crisis" of the alleged Soviet combat brigade in Cuba, trying

to show the Soviet-Cuban "threat" to American national security because of the presence in Cuba of MIG 23's, whose purpose was to affect the holding of the Sixth Summit Conference of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries in Havana; and the "crisis" arranged by the United States to promote illegal departures of antisocial elements, which led to the events at the Peruvian Embassy and at the American Interests Section, as well as the final massive departure of these persons to the United States, a departure authorized by Cuba through the maritime bridge set up at the Cuban port of Mariel.

Five months before the close of the election process, Carter, hurt by domestic problems caused by the avalanche of antisocial elements and the wave of airplane hijackings from the United States unleashed by these individuals disappointed by the American "paradise," tried to reduce the climate of tension with Cuba, which hurt his election chances. The fact that Carter attributed great importance to the crisis is shown by the statement he made that his defeat by Reagan was the result of the situation of the American hostages in Iran, the American economic crisis and the problem of the antisocial elements from Cuba.

Consequently, Carter's policy toward our country, following an initial phase of positive moves (1977-1979), in the 1979-1980 period reassumed the traditional aggressive stance. Espionage flights were renewed, naval maneuvers were carried out around Cuba, a combined military force was created for the Caribbean and based in Florida, illegal departures from Cuba were promoted and finally, a great campaign against the "refugees" and "dissidents" was unleashed.

Current Situation; Reactionary Administration of Reagan; Santa Fe Committee and the Fight Against "International Terrorism"

Reagan's election victory was the result of a combination of factors, especially the discontent that had built up over the ineffectiveness of Keynesian economic policies, which the Republican candidate promised to replace with "new" formulas that would resolve all the problems of the American economy. In addition, there was the ineffectiveness of Carter's policies in other spheres, particularly the abstentionism motivated by the lack of support for both candidates, the lack of positive results in foreign policy and other areas.

The monopolies watched the increasing threat, not only to maximum earnings, but also, the future obtention of investment possibilities and growing profits in specific countries. The middle classes, hurt by inflation and the energy crisis, listened to promises to prevent their standard of living from continuing to deteriorate and that it could even be better.

It is interesting to note that of the eight key men in the government's foreign and military policy: R. Reagan, G. Bush, G. P. Schultz, Caspar Weinberger, W. Casey, W. Clark, J. Backer III and E. Meese III, five represent the California financial-industrial complex, while two represent the financial, oil, electronics interests and military bases of Texas and that only one is from Wall Street (Casey). In other words, for the first time in this century, power is no longer in the hands of representatives of the Eastern Establishment of Wall Street.

In short, Carter's image was one of weakness and an inability to solve the main problems of domestic and foreign policy and economics of the United States. Certain circles of the "power elite" considered that Carter had conceded too much in his foreign policy and that he had not solved any of the great problems facing American society. On the contrary, Reagan promised to restore to Americans their hegemony abroad and their threatened welfare at home. For these and other reasons, he came to power, independently of the irrational and emotional nature of his promises, which are not viable within the framework of the current correlation of forces and the growing deterioration of the American economy.

As the United States emerged as a hegemonic capitalist power following World War II, the policy of its different presidents had a certain coherence in keeping with the imperialist "logic": Accommodations and negotiations were carried out, seeking areas of agreement and building bridgeheads (China, Camp David, and so on), to the extent that the international correlation of forces (because of the rise in national liberation movements, the workers movement on a worldwide scale and the growing might of the socialist community, particularly of the USSR) turned against the United States. In opposition to this, Reagan tries to negate history and to draw a clear line between the United States and the USSR, promising to recover the lost hegemony. His foreign policy, based on the search for military superiority over the Soviet Union in order to negotiate from positions of strength and preaching the fight against so-called "international terrorism," goes back 30 years to the time of the cold war. The authentic roots, stemming from imperialist exploitation, of liberation movements in Central America are denied. According to the imperialist "logic," revolutions are the result of Cuban-Soviet subversion and not social injustice.

It is fitting, before taking up the contradictions between Cuba and the United States within the framework of the Central American conflict, to draw a brief picture of what Reagan's policy on Latin America has been.

In the specific case of his policy on Latin America and Central America in particular, the document that would guide him would no longer be the Linowitz II report of 1976 (which proposed areas of agreement and negotiation in Latin America, the repudiation of dictatorships and the signing of Canal agreements), but rather, the report drawn up in May 1980 by the Santa Fe Committee. The authors of the Santa Fe report, supporters of a hard line, propose as their central thesis that aid from Cuba to leftist movements in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala "has, in the past two years, turned Central America into an area of great instability, which offers Cuba and the USSR great opportunities with respect to Mexican oil and the Panama Canal." They propose aggressive action against Cuba.

In Reagan's foreign policy on Latin America, a policy that is based on that report and put together by the most reactionary rightist elements of his government, El Salvador is the proof that would demonstrate the United States' ability to contain communism and Cuban-Soviet subversion in the hemisphere. It must be a point of departure for regaining American hegemony, which would later make it possible to negotiate with the USSR from positions of strength.

The situation in Central America and the Caribbean, which the administration tried to use a few months after taking office in order to chalk up a quick success, has been the subject of clashes between Washington and certain European capitals. Social Democratic officials and even the conservative coalition in the FRG are for a negotiated solution to which the United States does not give its approval. Reagan's policy on Central America and the Caribbean deserves special attention, not only because it is a new element in the disagreements between the United States and its allies, but rather, because it is the best example the current administration has, in the opinion of its strategists, for showing the coherence and effectiveness of its foreign policy. Because of its geographical proximity to American territory and its historical tradition as the backyard of the imperial power, the troubled region presents "an opportunity to show the rediscovered will of America."

The United States accused Cuba and Nicaragua of fomenting the Salvadoran revolution, promised to go "to the sources" to halt the alleged flow of arms to guerrillas and finally, in November 1981, increased threats of an American military intervention in the region, even considering punitive actions against Cuba. To the surprise of Washington, none of these measures led to the desired results: The Salvadoran revolution continued to develop, the Sandinist Government took suitable measures to neutralize the counterrevolution fomented from the outside and Cuba did not modify its positions one whit. On the contrary, European allies and certain Latin American governments manifested their disagreement with the course of events and there emerged in American society a serious opposition to any attempt at direct military intervention in the conflict by the United States. This led to an inevitable change in positions, causing administration officials to give the image that they were willing to initiate serious negotiations to find a peaceful solution to Central American conflicts, while continuing their policy of a military solution. This parallel focus tries to show moderation in the area, aimed at domestic consumption, while continuing the escalation of pressure and military threats designed to have an effect on the region.

The March 1982 elections in El Salvador, through which the administration thought it could conceal its support for the Salvadoran military, required a process of detente as a favorable framework.

It was under these circumstances that, with great fanfare and propaganda, Reagan revealed his Initiative for the Caribbean Basin (CBI), a greatly watered-down version of the Alliance for Progress. The CBI, like the Alliance, is nothing more than one more anti-Cuban move on the part of the administration, as the President himself admitted in presenting the plan to the OAS, affirming that "if we do not act rapidly and decisively in the defense of freedom, new Cubas will spring up from the ruins of today's conflicts." In addition to being inadequate, the funds of the CBI are mainly aimed at countries such as El Salvador. In 1982, the Congress did not approve the rest of the program, as predicted, with respect to commercial facilities for countries in the Basin. Finally, it must be emphasized that, like other proposals of the administration, excessive emphasis placed on stimulating foreign investments makes the program an instrument of imperialist penetration rather than of economic aid.

With the initiative launched in February and after the Salvadoran elections in March, even though the latter did not lead to the triumph of Napoleon Duarte's Christian Democrats as Washington would have wished, the year 1982 shaped up as "promising" for Reagan's policy on Central America and the Caribbean. Then came the crisis of the Malvinas and the resulting deepening of differences between the United States and Latin America, the result of Reagan's support for the government of Margaret Thatcher, despite the fact that it was a very clear case in which the contractual obligations of the Inter-American Mutual Assistance Treaty (TIAR) of Rio de Janeiro forced the United States to express its solidarity with Argentina in a concrete fashion.

The crisis in the Malvinas placed the Reagan Administration in a very compromised situation. From the conceptual standpoint, a serious problem existed on the continent which in no way could be viewed as an East-West conflict. It in fact questioned the thesis that anything affecting American interests was the direct result of Soviet maneuvers. Furthermore, the dilemma could not be more difficult. On the one hand, there was Great Britain, a traditional ally of the United States, a country to which it had extremely close ties strengthened by the ideological coincidence between Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, the firmest defender of American positions in Europe. In short, the British prime minister was not only the United States' firmest supporter in NATO, but in addition, her government faced a critical internal situation for following in England the same policy as the President of the United States. On the other hand, there was the Argentine military government, one of the friends of the United States whom Carter had "betrayed" with his position on human rights. General Galtieri had just come to head that country. He was a man in whom the administration saw a personality even friendlier than his predecessor, a man who had visited Washington shortly before taking office and established intimate contact with Reagan himself. This American-Argentine rapprochement favored the proposal of using that country's armed forces in some important combat role in Central America if it should become necessary and if internal opposition should prevent direct American participation. Basically, the American decision to support Great Britain was part of the logic of the strategic interests of imperialism, since it backed the NATO ally in the region, which it naturally considers of principal importance with respect to any Latin American country.

The political cost of such a decision did not take long to become evident in Latin America and the Caribbean. It led to greater isolation of the United States with respect to countries in the region and showed the ineffectiveness of political instruments and institutions such as the TIAR and the OAS in the face of a typically colonial conflict on our continent.

After the crisis in the Malvinas, the administration tried to repair the damage. Part of the effort was made by Reagan himself when he traveled to Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica and Honduras at the end of 1982, where he met with the presidents of those nations and with their Salvadoran and Guatemalan counterparts. Implicit in this trip of the President was also the objective of achieving greater support from other countries on the continent for Nicaragua's policy of isolation, against which the American Government has been trying methods used by previous administrations against Cuba. Since mid 1982,

officials in Washington have promoted an anti-Nicaraguan policy with two basic objectives: internal destabilization, preferably using Somozan bands out of Honduran territory, and promotion of conflicts between the Sandinist Government and its neighbors. The first proposal has been widely illustrated by the American press and the second has become manifest with the execution of joint American-Honduran maneuvers on the Nicaraguan border. In general, it can be said that in Brazil and Colombia, Reagan's trip turned out to be a complete failure and an imposition of his ideas on Costa Rica and Honduras.

As admitted by Robert Pastor, a high official on the National Security Council, from 1977 to 1981, guerrilla forces in Central America have been stronger than ever. Revolutionary governments in the area have not yielded; on the contrary.

In short, the failure of this policy essentially stems from the ahistoric postulates of the document guiding it (Santa Fe) and the fighting spirit of our peoples. It has resulted in the conflict that exists within the administration and that is manifested in:

- 1) the "declaratory" faction of heavy ideological content represented by Secretary of State Haig, first, and National Security Council member William Clark, second, plus UN Ambassador J. Kirkpatrick;
- 2) regional specialists such as Wayne Smith, former head of the Interest Section in Cuba, and Pezzullo and White, former ambassadors to Nicaragua and El Salvador, who aspire to a more realistic policy;
- 3) Congress, which tends to reject spectacular and adventurous changes in foreign policy; and
- 4) the Pentagon and the CIA which, although supporters of the hard line of which they are the executors, are still concerned about large-scale involvement in Central America. In addition, the growing internal and international opposition to this policy (the Contadora Group, Social Democrats, and so on) has also been a check on it.

In Cuban policy, the Reagan Administration has based its work on the Santa Fe Report, meaning: launching a large-scale propaganda campaign against Cuba, unleashing "its policy of aggression on brother nations in the Americas" and its "unfortunate alliance with the USSR." If propaganda fails, the report states, "a war of liberation should be launched against Castro." The other alternative, the Santa Fe theoreticians continue to say, will be to strongly encourage Cubans to make a radical change in their foreign policy. It must be clearly established, they say, that if the Cuban-Soviet alliance comes to an end, the United States will be generous and will help restore the "destroyed" Cuban economy. These are the options the Santa Fe theoreticians offer Cuba.

Let us now take an overall look at what Reagan's policy on our country has been: On 28 January 1980, during the presidential campaign, Reagan said on CBS that the United States should apply a blockade of Cuba as a countermeasure for the "Soviet invasion" of Afghanistan. On 10 March, he repeated in Florida his opposition to any normalization of relations with Cuba. In accordance with this,

the Republic Party Platform of 18 July 1980 declared that Carter remained indifferent while Cuba "trains, arms and aggressively supports forces of confrontation and revolution."

Reagan's main advisers on foreign policy (Roger Fontaine, James Teberge, Pedro San Juan and Jeanne Kirkpatrick) stated during the presidential campaign the need to apply an "intelligent" policy in negotiations with Cuba, a policy which for them consisted in dialoguing from positions of strength. On 8 November 1980, Fontaine stated: "The government would prepare to be generous in terms of a variety of issues (...) provided that the Cubans put an end to their current relationship with the Soviet Union, which amounts to a military alliance." In addition, these advisers jointly expressed the view that they considered Cuba as an enemy of the United States and would treat it as such.

Before Reagan took office, in the Central Report to the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba (presented on 17 December 1980), Commander in Chief Fidel Castro picked up the aggressive tone of the election campaign and reiterated the position of principle of Cuba: "Reagan and his advisers have spoken of a military blockade of Cuba under any pretext, even if the Soviet Union should carry out an action in some other part of the world. This idea is repugnant and cynical.

"Cuba will be ready to defend itself against any military blockade or Yankee imperialist invasion!" he said, and concluded: "If there is an olive branch, we shall not reject it. If hostility continues and there is aggression, we shall vigorously respond.

"Cuba understands that it is a historical need in the world for all countries to have normal relations based on mutual respect, recognition of the sovereign right of each one and nonintervention. Cuba believes that the normalization of its relations with the United States would help the political climate of Latin America and the Caribbean and would contribute to world detente. Cuba is therefore not opposed to resolving its historical difference with the United States, but no one must demand that Cuba change its position or go against its principles. Cuba is and will continue to be socialist. Cuba is and will continue to be a friend of the Soviet Union and all socialist nations. Cuba is and will continue to be an internationalist country.

"Principles are not negotiable."<sup>11</sup>

In January 1981, the Reagan Administration took power. Aggressive measures immediately began to go into effect against Cuba, according to proposals drawn up during the election campaign. Among those carried out in 1981 and 1982, one might mention:

- 1) the propaganda campaign aimed at "proving" Cuba's alleged responsibility in the rise of revolutions in Central America and particularly El Salvador. On 30 January, Secretary of State Alexander Haig stated: "It is clear that the Cubans are seriously involved in El Salvador and we are discovering more and more proof of Nicaragua's participation."



They later published the "White Paper" containing alleged documentary proof of Cuba's participation in El Salvador.

- 2) pressure on different Latin American governments maintaining relations with Cuba to modify or even break them. Such pressure became public in the case of Panama, in whose behalf Gen Omar Torrijos responded vigorously and in a sovereign manner.
- 3) steps taken to boycott the holding of the Sixth UNCTAD conference in Havana;
- 4) opposition to the presence of Cuba, which then headed the Movement of Non-aligned Countries, at the Summit Meeting of the North-South Dialogue held in Cancun;
- 5) public consideration of the possibility of material support for Angolan counterrevolutionary groups and the announcement that the CIA would reconsider the use, in actions against Cuba, of Cuban counterrevolutionaries living in the United States, revealing the existence of training camps where counterrevolutionaries from Cuba and Nicaragua are trained together;
- 6) continuation of the espionage flights using Blackbird SR-71's.
- 7) the proposal to create the so-called Radio Jose Marti, suggested in the Santa Fe Report, announced on 23 September 1981. This counterrevolutionary radio station would have as its purpose, according to Thomas Enders, then undersecretary of state for Inter-American affairs, "to let the Cuban people know what is happening in their country";
- 8) Haig's statement of 5 November 1981 on his request to the Defense Department that it examine measures for a possible blockade of Nicaragua or actions against Cuba, including naval exercises, a show of air power, a quarantine and even stronger action, all aimed at cutting the supply of weapons to El Salvador;
- 9) approval of a resolution by the U.S. Senate on 13 November 1981 prohibiting federal resources from promoting trade with Cuba;
- 10) the systematic campaign of pressure and threats against Cuba throughout 1982, based on: alleged terrorist activities by Cuba, Cuba's support for "subversion" in Central America and participation in international conspiracies directed by the USSR;
- 11) Cuba's inclusion in the list of "terrorist countries";
- 12) publication of another "White Paper" in March 1982;
- 13) the denial of permits to the Cuban Aviation Enterprise by the State Department for flights to Puerto Rico;
- 14) pressure in the Western world to limit trade with Cuba, on the one hand, and delay renegotiation of the foreign debt, on the other.

- 15) As a result of the anti-Cuban campaign of Reagan, Haig, Enders, Kirkpatrick, Frechette et al, the Heritage Foundation reflected very negative results in a May 1982 poll on relations with Cuba. Of the 2,332 American adults interviewed, 1,826 said that the Cuban Government tried to export revolution in the hemisphere and 1,585 that Cuba is a threat to the peace of the United States.
- 16) the arbitrary expulsion of Cuban diplomats to the United Nations and the denial of visas to other officials and, in December 1982, the restriction on entry into the United States of our diplomatic personnel, contained in a note from the State Department.
- 17) In August 1982, COVERT ACTION published an article on the CIA's bacteriological warfare against Cuba. "We share the conviction of the people," Fidel said on 26 July 1981, "and we harbor the profound suspicion that the epidemics that have hit our country, especially hemorrhagic dengue, may have been introduced into Cuba by the CIA."<sup>12</sup>
- 18) the announcement in April 1982 of nonrenewal of the 1977 fishing agreement with Cuba and the failure to assign fishing quotas for 1982;
- 19) the approval by the Yankee Senate on 11 August 1982 of the Symms Amendment, which favors the use of "all means" within the reach of the American Government, including "the sending of troops," to oppose an alleged "Cuban threat" on the continent;
- 20) the proposal of the State Department in September 1982 to delay renegotiation of the Cuban debt. Wayne Smith published an article in FOREIGN POLICY on relations with Cuba, showing how, from Nixon to Reagan, it has been the United States that has refused to negotiate with Cuba. Shultz, Frechette, Bush and Weinberger made statements against negotiations with Cuba.
- 21) Thomas Enders made extensive and aggressive statements against Cuba in December 1982.

To these and other forms of aggression, pressure and threats, Cuba responded with the creation of the Territorial Troop Militias (MTT) and the development of other measures to strengthen the country's defense.

In his speeches of 26 July and 15 September 1981 and of 10 February, 26 July and 11 December 1982, Comrade Fidel Castro reiterated our position of principles and exposed Yankee aggressiveness and the falseness of its accusations.

#### Final Considerations

If, in 1981, the tone of the Reagan Administration's policy on Cuba was the threat of military aggression and if, in 1982, without discarding that option, it placed greater emphasis on "ideological war" (upon seeing Cuba's willingness to fight and the opposition of the American people and Congress to a long, costly war having uncertain results), in 1983, the United States maintained its line of attack on such aspects as the restriction of travel to Cuba by American

citizens, denials of visas for Cuban officials, the expulsion of Cuban diplomats to the United Nations and restrictions on their movements. Likewise, through propaganda campaigns based on Cuba's "subversive role" in Central America, an attempt was made to link Cuba with drug trafficking, the alleged repression of trade union leaders was condemned and the supposed strengthening of Cuban Armed Forces was attributed to offensive purposes in the area rather than defensive purposes. In addition to these measures, President Reagan signed the bill on the establishment of Radio Jose Marti. Despite the fact that the "ideological war" continued to have greater weight in 1983, there was no cessation of military provocations (examples are the air violation by the Blackbird RS-71, which flew over the island from one end to the other through the center on 19 April) and threats of aggression.

The Cuban position on the most recent accusations and aggressive actions by the Reagan Administration was clearly set forth by Fidel in his speech of 26 July 1983 and in his interview on 28 July with American newsmen.

On 26 July, Comrade Fidel, after asserting that "Nicaragua and Central America are seriously threatened," he said: "The United States, clearing for combat, is moving its squadrons and soldiers forward in a threatening manner against another nation of Latin America. Another Vietnam in the heart of America? Let us hope this never happens and there is still time to prevent it!"<sup>13</sup>

On 28 July, Fidel said: "I believe that a solution in Central America cannot be found through the imposition of one side on the other. I believe that it would have to be a solution based on equitable, honorable principles. I believe, for example, that it would be impossible to achieve a negotiated political solution in Central America if we do not achieve a negotiated political solution in El Salvador. I believe that this is a key point. One cannot achieve solutions by sacrificing someone."

He continued: "I agree with the Contadora proposals, that a political solution should be sought on the basis of respect for the sovereignty of nations, non-intervention in the internal affairs of nations. This implies that every country must have the political system it prefers. If it wants to be capitalist, then let it be capitalist. If it wants to be socialist, then let it be socialist. If it wants a mixed system, then a mixed system, if a mixed system were possible. In other words, I believe that the principle of self-determination is essential. The principle of nonintervention is essential. And I believe that we could all abide by this principle: we, the United States, all nations in Central America."<sup>14</sup>

Following this account of the aggressive actions and measures of the Reagan Administration concerning Cuba, it would be interesting to point out the essential positions that have served as a "theoretical foundation" for the policy of the current American Government on Cuba, as well as its fallacious nature.

President Reagan himself has claimed that the "United States has committed itself in Central America and the Caribbean Basin in an association for peace, prosperity and democracy." One has but to point out that the "aid" granted to the Salvadoran Government in 1982 exceeds the \$350 million earmarked for all countries in the Caribbean Basin.

It has been said that "Cuba aspires to be a giant in foreign policy" by virtue of having been consistent with its internationalist principles and sending to brother countries doctors, construction workers and, on an exceptional basis, troops for defensive purposes, at the request of friendly governments threatened by the maneuvers of imperialists and their gendarmes.

In repeated statements by President Reagan and his team, it is claimed that "Cuba has tried to reproduce its revolution in other parts of America and Africa." It is good to remind those who so claim that revolutions cannot be exported deliberately, since they are the result of native economic and social conditions. Before the Soviet Revolution of 1917 and the Cuban Revolution of 1959, Latin America had already known struggles for independence and social movements of the magnitude of the Mexican Revolution, arising out of conditions of oppression and exploitation.

It has also been said that "Havana must be warned about its policy of aggression toward its brother nations in America," when the real and main aggressor of our territories since independence to date has been the United States.

It is said in the United States that "the triumph of the Sandinists in Managua is a success of Cuba" that "will never happen again." Is it necessary to recall that the Sandinist fight began in Las Segovias over half a century ago and precisely against the Yankee Marines, whose intervention radicalized an essentially constitutionalist movement?

What occurred was not a success of Cuba. It was a triumph of the Nicaraguan people over a half century of the Somoza dynasty, the offspring of the United States Marines.

The current American Administration has repeatedly brandished the argument that "the United States cannot continue to accept the status of Cuba as a vassal state of the USSR."

The USSR does not have banks or mines or factories in Cuba. Moscow banks do not receive from Cuba the remittances of capital from Soviet enterprises, which do not exist in Cuba. Cuban-USSR relations are on the basis of equality and mutual respect and are a model for the type of relations demanded by Third World countries through the new international economic order.

In contrast, Cuba's relations with the United States have meant landings and killings and have prevented the economic development of the island with the so-called treaties of "commercial reciprocity." They have represented support for dictators such as Machado and Batista and the attempt to destroy our revolution by all possible means in order to restore the exploitation of the transnational companies with their aftereffects of illiteracy, unemployment and other evils eradicated by the Cuban Revolution.

Finally, in repeated statements, the Reagan Administration has tried to present Cuba as guilty of the Cuba-United States conflict. The words of then undersecretary of state Thomas Enders, in December 1982, exemplify this position: "Through

all these years (1975-1980), we have tried to moderate Cuba's conduct through talks aimed at the normalization of relations. This bipartisan effort failed because it did not induce Cuba to change its conduct."

Such a position makes negotiations dependent upon a "moderation" by Cuba. What relation exists between the blockade, the Cuban-American conflict and the fact that Cuba, as a sovereign country, has an independent foreign policy? Or is Cuba asking the United States to negotiate the subject of its ceasing to be imperialist in its foreign policy?

Countless documentary proof exists in the very American public sources themselves (from testimony before the Senate, such as the report of the Special Commission in 1975, to books and articles by politicians such as Kissinger, former CIA agents such as Agee, diplomats such as Wayne Smith, intellectuals such as Wyden and Leogrande, and editorialists and writers for the WALL STREET JOURNAL and NEWSWEEK, none of them supporters of our positions) showing that the aggressor has been the United States from the time of the national liberation phase of the revolution (when it was not yet socialist) up to today, for it has consistently opposed negotiating with Cuba and demanded as a prerequisite -- since it could not destroy it -- that it return to the neocolonial status imposed on it in 1902. Could the words of President Reagan in inviting Cuba to rejoin the Western Hemisphere mean anything else?

When, in 1959, the revolution came to power, Cuba was a part of the relations of dependency of the international capitalist system and in particular, of American imperialism. Is that what President Reagan calls Western Hemisphere?

The state of relations between Cuba and the United States is abnormal. The official policy of the United States on Cuba, personified in the presidential declaration of John F. Kennedy in February 1962, has remained inalterable and signifies a refusal to accept the existence and legitimacy of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba.

The different American administrations refuse to deal with Cuba as an equal and to respect its independence and sovereignty. If, in 1962, that attitude was justified by the pretext of the incompatibility of the Cuban Revolution with the so-called system of "representative democracy," today other pretexts are used: that Cuba should change its international positions; that Cuba should break its fraternal ties with the Soviet Union; that Cuba should agree to gravitate, like a new "ripe fruit," under the paternalism of the United States.

Furthermore, Cuba has no blockade against the United States. Cuba has no military bases in the United States. Cuba does not threaten to intervene militarily in the United States.

Nothing in Cuban legislation is aggressive and hostile to the United States. The bases for a normalization of relations between Cuba and the United States depend on respect for Cuban integrity and sovereignty and must be aimed at solving bilateral differences between both governments. To try to make the solution of these problems dependent upon Cuban concessions in other areas having nothing to do with this bilateral difference is nothing more than asking

Cuba to give up its sovereignty and independence. Cuba has never been opposed to considering all the proposals of the United States for achieving a normalization of relations between both countries, but there still exists the fundamental obstacle of the policy of American scorn for having that normalization achieved following the principles of mutual respect and reciprocal benefit.

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## U. S. POLICY ON MEXICAN BORDER SITUATION CRITICIZED

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 7 May 84 p 5

[Article by Jose Gabriel Guma]

[Text] The Reagan administration is giving a new turn of the screw in its pressuring of Mexico.

The first victims of the "squeeze", apparently prepared in the Oval Office of the White House and seconded with delight by the Border Patrol and U.S. police forces, are the workers of Mexican origin who till the soil in a group of U.S. southern states, basically California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas.

Ironically, the Mexican farm laborers are being mistreated in territories that used to be part of the over 2 million square kilometers of which Mexico was stripped by the then nascent northern empire in the last century.

It is not difficult for the Yankee federal and state agents to take this action against the men--and women--who cross the Rio Grande at harvest time to work on farms and in industries related to this economic sector, since Mexico is "the principal country of origin" of the 13.5 million foreigners resident in the United States, according to an AFP report based on a statistical study published in Washington on the composition of the U.S. population.

As part of the "new policy" adopted in the capital on the Potomac, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) recently launched an intensive campaign to intimidate supposedly undocumented Mexicans and has converted the El Paso border and other points along the over 5,000 kilometer long border line between the two neighbors into a virtual "militarized zone."

The Union of Border Agricultural Workers, which is headquartered in Ciudad Juarez, has just reported that the U.S. border police are arresting some 1,000 immigrants every 24 hours and has made it plain that the "raids" against people of Mexican origin--both Chicanos and immigrants--are really degrading and intimidating.

But the repressive action is being taken not only by the "cops" but also by the ranchers of the southern U.S., who pay the farm laborers barely a fourth of the legally established wages and afterwards, when they no longer serve to reduce labor costs, assist, together with the Border Patrol and "sheriffs," in their deportation.

According to the organizations that represent the interests of the Mexican workers in the U.S., the over 1 million Mexican farm laborers who annually cross the border in search of work "have no legal protection of any kind against oppression."

EL UNIVERSAL and other Mexico City newspapers have recently warned that the U.S. Supreme Court decision to authorize the "search and arrest" of supposedly illegal workers of Mexican origin in factories and other U.S. centers of employment really constitutes "the introduction of a policy of intolerance."

This "legalization" of round-ups has evoked energetic protests on the part of Chicano organizations. Cesar Caballero, a Chicano leader in El Paso, Texas, has expressed the opinion that the judicial decision is "fascist and constitutes an attempt against the civil rights" of millions of immigrants. The highest representatives of the League of United Latin American Citizens, the Education Fund of Legal Defense for Mexican-Americans, the Committee for Defense of Chicano Prisoners and other legally constituted entities in the U.S. have expressed themselves similarly.

The Supreme Court decision was even criticized by one of the justices on this high court who voted against the measure. The justice said that the decision is based on deliberate ignorance of the facts and rejected the allegations made by the INS regarding supposed problems in their work.

For its part, the NOTIMEX agency indicated that the Mexican immigrants are segregated from the rest of the prison population "in order to subject them to constant humiliation and feed them in many cases only with bread and water for days."

The increasing mass deportations of Mexican workers and members of their families to their "country of origin" have created a difficult situation for Mexico, as it must absorb in a short period hundreds of thousands of men, women and children and do so at a time when the economic crisis of the capitalist world is also affecting a nation that has itself felt the blows of its troublesome northern neighbor and that has followed a foreign policy, especially with regard to the Central American crisis, that is not to the liking of the republican government of the U.S.

This situation has caused many to remark that Washington seems to acknowledge meetings between representatives of the Mexican and U.S. parliaments and even those at the highest level, between Presidents Miguel de la Madrid and Ronald Reagan, only by taking unfriendly--more precisely, aggressive--measures against the Mexican nation. A precedent for such behavior may be found in the fact that repression of the Mexican laborers was applied with unusual force at the time when, in mid-April, the fourth meeting of the Binational Mexican-U.S. Committee was taking place, with the participation of several Mexican ministers.



But, as they say south of the Rio Grande, the insolent and arrogant  
"misters" seated on the banks of another river, the Potomac, must exercise  
care, great care, lest the screw they so love to turn loses its thread.

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## TRAVEL AMONG INCENTIVES OFFERED TO UJC VANGUARDS

Havana JUVENTUD REBELDE in Spanish 6 May 84 p 2

[Article by Marina Menendez]

[Text] Among the incentives the UJC [Union of Young Communists] offers to militants and youthful vanguards, one of the most important is the granting of tourist travel to socialist countries, and many from all over Cuba have already benefitted by this valuable experience.

This tourist program for youth is about to enter its 5th year of operation, with a steady increase in the number of youths thus rewarded. In order to learn further details, JUVENTUD REBELDE interviewed Juan Emilio Rodriguez, head of the Socialist Countries Section of the UJC's Department of Foreign Relations.

"This year," he said, "about 1,100 comrades are expected to make such trips; 979 did in 1983 and 971 in 1982."

Selection, which begins at the base level, is made in every case by provincial committees of the youth organization in coordination with their municipal counterparts, always taking into consideration the results of competitions in various categories.

Asked about the distribution of opportunities among the provinces, Rodriguez said that this is carried out in a way that is "fair and proportional, taking into account the degree of militancy and concentration of youth in each province. Thus, all comrades, wherever they may be in the country, have the same opportunities to receive this reward, provided they fully meet the definition of vanguards."

This program, which is being carried out pursuant to the agreements reached by the Viajes-Cuba Company with the socialist countries' young tourist entities, is based on the principle of mutual exchange, so that Cuba receives young European tourists to the same extent that ours visit those countries.

"This makes it possible for 800 of every 1000 UJC vanguards making such tourist visits to do it completely free. The rest have to pay their expenses, but the prices they pay are moderate and in no way comparable to those proposed by INTUR in plans for commercial tourism," he explained.

By means of this system of incentives, approximately 3000 militants and youths by 1983, had had the opportunity to know first-hand important aspects of the life and history of the German Democratic Republic, Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, the countries with which these agreements have been established.

Referring to this point, the UJC national director pointed out the importance of these visits for our young people, since they constitute "a means for them to raise their political and cultural levels and to strengthen still further the ties of friendship and solidarity that bind us to the youth organizations of those countries. This is facilitated through the meetings and visits they make to schools, factories and places of historic interest--another reason why the UJC puts particular emphasis on the development of this program."

"So far this year, three groups of young Cubans have already left--one from Villa Clara, another from Matanzas and a third from Havana City--and, upon their return, they will tell their comrades of the valuable experiences they had during their stays in these fraternal countries," he concluded.

[In box] The tourist trips always are awarded on the basis of the results of competition between youths.

These are the categories concerned: young vanguards in sugar cane harvesting, construction, farming, the youth movement, higher education, intermediate education, winners of the Ernesto Che Guevara International Pedagogical Award and vanguards in the field of health; the best workers in national education; young winners of awards and medals from the Council of State, of the Shapers of the Future Award and members of base organizations awarded the Banner of Honor; outstanding youths in the agricultural, stockraising and forestry fields, in the Shock Forces, in production and in services; young militants from basic committees who have won competitions; and vanguards of the FAR [Revolutionary Armed Forces] and of the MININT [Ministry of the Interior] or those who have distinguished themselves in the defense of the homeland.

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CSO: 3248/692

## LOW SUGAR HARVEST BLAMED ON HEAVY RAINFALL

Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 13 May 84 p 3

[Text] IN HIS closing speech at the 15th Congress of the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions (CTC), Comrade Fidel drew attention to the fact that the harvesting of sugarcane was behind schedule by over 2 300 000 tons and that sugar production was some 423 000 tons short of the plan.

By May Day the figures had risen to over 5 700 000 tons and 1 117 000 tons, respectively.

The main cause for this lag was the frequent, heavy rainfall throughout the harvest across the island, with the exception of Guantanamo province, eastern Cuba, which has been affected by drought.

In the rest of the provinces, rain has had an adverse effect on canecutting and transportation to the mills. The adverse climatic conditions are that much more detrimental to cutting, loading and transportation given the level of mechanization. It also must be taken into account that sucrose yield is affected; that is, the same amount of cane produces less sugar. Throughout the harvest, the highest yield has been 11.63 percent (on March 22), when, with good weather the national yield in March has generally been above 12 percent. It can be said with certainty that in this harvest the sucrose yield has been below the traditional figure. The current deficit can thus be explained by the doubly harmful effect of the rain; less cane harvested and less sucrose yield from the amount of cane cut.

Rain also disrupts the cutting program in many sugar mills when it becomes necessary to concentrate on higher, drier land with drainage whenever working on low-lying, wet land becomes impossible. This prevents the optimum selective cutting of cane according to strain and age as well as the steady flow of cane to the distribution centers of each sugar mill. As the close of the harvest draws near, the problem worsens.

To natural setbacks of this kind may be added shortcomings in organization and efficient utilization of material and human resources to a greater or lesser degree. This, however, has not been the determining or decisive factor in the present harvest.

Nevertheless, a shortage of one million tons of sugar has its negative effects on the economy as a whole. This is particularly important to note this year when thanks to the extraordinary efforts of the people and measures outlined by the Party in its 6th and 8th Plenums, other branches of the economy are showing highly satisfactory results and a marked growth accompanied by substantial economizing in raw materials and fuel. The sugar harvest is in fact being carried out far more efficiently than preceding ones, with less human and energy resources than planned.

A shortage of one million tons of sugar creates all kinds of difficulties for Cuba's foreign trade, reducing foreign exchange income and making it impossible for the country to meet its foreign market commitments.

It is already too late to make good the drop in sucrose yield. However, there is still enough sugarcane in the fields--more than estimated in fact--to recuperate a major part of the sugar deficit. This calls for a special effort in all the provinces affected, plus an extraordinary operators, cane transporters and mill workers throughout May and, in some cases, through the first half of June. An ever greater effort will be required should the spring rains be heavier over the next few weeks.

In the process, soil conditioning, and the planning, fertilizing, irrigation and cultivation of cane for the next harvest cannot be neglected.

CSO: 3200/42

## REFORM AT UNSAFE CHEMICAL PLANT AFTER 3 YEARS OF COMPLAINTS

Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 27 May 84 p 8

[Article by Enrique Valdes Perez: "People's Action vs Negligence and Mismanagement--The Residents Were Right"; article excerpted from magazine BOHEMIA]

[Text] WE RECEIVED a complaint from a large number of residents of the Luyano district of Havana stating that there had been an increase in the number of allergy and asthma cases in families living in the vicinity of a plant that had begun production of chlorine and bleach.

They contended that although the plant had a license to produce bleach, they were convinced that it was also producing a cleaning agent consisting of a mixture of hydrochloric acid and water and that the fumes produced in the process were harmful to the people living in the area.

They also said that they had informed Roberto Plasencia Tabio, People's Power delegate of circumscription no. 7 of 10 de Octubre municipality, and he had relayed their complaint to higher levels of People's Power but no answer had been given to his report.

We visited Amelia Estrada, secretary of vigilance of the Claudio Arguelles Camejo Committee for the Defense of the Revolution, and Gaudencio Villazan Zola, president of that Committee.

They said that they had misgivings about the plant from the time construction was begun in 1981, because the construction workers themselves were saying that plant would be turning out products that might be toxic to the population.

For this reason, they went to the polyclinic in Luyano where, they claim no one showed any interest in the matter. Gaudencio persisted and on October 12, 1981 wrote to Dr. Abelardo Ramirez, director of public health in City of Havana, informing him about the matter.

On November 24, 1981, Gaudencio received a letter signed by inspector Jose M. Varela Bermudez, of the deputy minister of hygiene and epidemiology's office, saying that an engineer and an inspector had been dispatched to the plant where they were told that it was designed for the production of bleach and the washing of glass containers and that a license had been issued by the province's Hygiene and Epidemiology Center.

Since nothing changed in the year and a half since the first complaint was made and everything indicated that the residents of the area were right in assuming that the fumes coming from the plant were toxic, on December 21, 1983, Gaudencio wrote again to the deputy minister's office, this time on behalf of all the residents of the area. He stated that they were certain that the plant was not producing bleach but rather the cleaning agent in question, that more tanks had been added for this purpose and that the plant had in stock the raw materials used in the production of this cleaning agent.

On January 5, 1984, a letter was received from the deputy minister's office stating that health officials had met with the plant director and manager who had told them that they had no plans to produce the cleaning agent and that they continued to make bleach.

By then the residents of the area were convinced that they were right and since they still hadn't heard from People's Power, they decided to refer the matter to Bohemia.

We visited several residents, among them Evangelina Cordero; Dagoberto Asen, who said that his three-year-old daughter was having serious asthma attacks and that his ten-year-old son was beginning to suffer from respiratory problems; Hilda Gonzalez; Marina Regueira, secretary to the People's Power delegate; Esther Martin Benito; and the People's Power delegate.

All of them were in accord with Gaudencio's charges that the plant was producing the toxic agent and that the management was denying it.

Marina: "I went to see the manager to give him a copy of the minutes of the meeting held by the delegate to People's Power to report on his activities to his electors, but he refused to take it. His arrogance was unbelievable, coming as it was from a manager of a socialist plant."

"The manager is making a mockery of the neighborhood," the People's Power delegate said, "and the things he's done have irritated the residents."

"Many of the residents are having throat trouble," Dagoberto Asen said. "Besides, they light bonfires in the yard and the smoke, which has a penetrating smell, invades all the houses in the area."

"They're burning something that produces a whitish-gray smoke with a very unpleasant smell," Narciso Molina said.

After hearing the residents' views, we met with Dr. Celso Rodriguez, of the National Department of Food Hygiene and Nutrition of the Ministry of Public Health. He said he didn't know whether the plant was producing the toxic agent, but that he'd been told that if they ever decided to produce it they would first apply for a license.

Our next step was to get in touch with Dr. Ubelino Moreno, of the province's Subdivision of Hygiene and Epidemiology.

On April 18, 1984, we received a letter from Dr. Ovidio Pena Amador, chief of the Workers' Care Department of the Provincial Committee of Hygiene and Safety of City of Havana, who said that following interviews with some of the residents, officials from his department had visited the plant. They met with Rosario Diaz, brigade head and acting plant manager, and Nereida Canadilla Baez, general secretary of the trade union local in the plant. The department reported as follows:

"The plant is staffed by 33, most of them women. On the books there are 46 workers.

"The plant is currently turning out the cleaning agent and bleach. In the past it has also produced insecticide, packaged shoe dye and coated paper drinking cups with paraffin.

"The production facilities approved at the project stage are not in use and all operations are done in a rudimentary way.

"The cleaning agent is produced by mixing 50 percent hydrochloric acid and 50 percent water. For this purpose there are four 60-gallon and one 30-gallon tanks standing on a platform.

"The workers who pour the hydrochloric acid into the containers wear gloves and a mask that partly covers the face. It is not known if the masks' filters are in working order. One of the workers said the fumes from the acid pass through the filters.

"A large number of tanks containing DDT and other chemical products, none of which had labels, were found in the raw materials storeroom. We were told they had been brought there from another plant. The glass containers are sealed by dipping them into a mixture of rosin and recycled plastic materials which are first melted down in containers supported over a wood fire in the yard."

The conclusions of the health department include the following:

--The current process of producing and storing the cleaning agent, apart from involving a risk to the workers, lacks a system for collecting and treating the hydrochloric acid fumes.

--The smoke resulting from the primitive method of melting down the rosin and recycled plastic constitutes a source of discomfort to the residents.

The measures taken included:

--To stop the production and storing of the cleaning agent until the proper facilities are in operation. For this purpose, the corresponding project must be submitted to the province's Hygiene and Epidemiology Center.

--Within two weeks the DDT is to be transferred to a warehouse which meets the hygienic and sanitary standards prescribed by Resolution No. 335 of the Ministry of Public Health.



--The current method for melting down rosin and plastic, which represents a source of discomfort to the population, is absolutely prohibited, as is the burning of wood or other materials in the yard. Any change in the production plan requires permission from the health department.

--Permission is granted to continue production of bleach using current methods for no longer than 180 days, after which the appropriate measures will be taken to comply with what is established in the project approved in 1981. This will be followed by requesting the Provincial Center of Hygiene and Epidemiology for permission to start operations.

In case these provisions are not complied with, legal measures will be taken according to the existing health regulations.

The strong measures taken by the Ministry of Public Health put an end to the situation that had caused so much irritation to the residents. After a year and a half, it was demonstrated that the people who live near the bleach plant in Luyano had every right to complain.

CSO: 3200/42

## BRIEFS

TRADE ACCORD WITH SWEDEN--A new protocol on cooperation between Sweden and Cuba was signed in Stockholm at the conclusion of the annual consultative meeting on technical and economic cooperation between the two countries. The document envisages the allotment of new funds, the establishment of measures to make up for the existing trade imbalance by increasing the number of Cuban exports to the Swedish market and the possibility of renewing Swedish bank credits for bilateral trade. Following a series of meetings with private enterprises, the Cuban delegation signed an agreement with Alfa Laval for co-operation in the food, sugar and fishing industries. [Text] [Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 20 May 84 p 4]

MINREX STATEMENT ON VIETNAM--OFFICIAL REPORTS issued by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam since early April of this year have charged that army troops from the People's Republic of China have made incursions into Vietnamese territory after continuous bombings of various border towns. These operations have resulted in the death of many innocent civilians and have damaged the economic reconstruction, which the heroic Vietnamese people are carrying out with such dedication. The aggression not only violates the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam but also increases tension in Indochina and Southeast Asia. It also threatens the efforts being made by the countries in that part of the world, particularly Vietnam, Lao and Kampuchea, to achieve regional peace and stability, and furthermore, it endangers world peace. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cuba firmly supports the statements made by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam concerning these events. It also makes an appeal so that, in accordance with the repeated proposals of the Vietnamese government, any problems between the two neighboring countries be solved by peaceful means for the benefit of both peoples' interests. [Text] [Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 27 May 84 p 4]

COOPERATION AGREEMENT WITH ETHIOPIA--ADDIS ABABA (PL).--Ethiopia and Cuba have signed here a cooperation agreement for two years, as a new step in strengthening their fraternal relations. The document was the outcome of the fifth session of the Cuban-Ethiopian Joint Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation. Signing the agreement were Sergio del Valle Jimenez, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba and minister of health, and Addis Tedla, of the Ethiopia Party leadership and vice-president of the Supreme Central Planning Council. According to the protocol Ethiopia

will get from Cuba experts in education, public health, agriculture, industry, construction and hydraulic development. During his stay here, the head of the Cuban delegation was received by President Mengistu Haile Mariam, who gave the visitors a brief outline of socialist Ethiopia's current and future programs in this stage of the Ethiopian Revolution. [Text] [Article by Roberto Correa Wilson] [Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 10 Jun 84 p 3]

CSO: 3200/42

## POLITICAL LEADERS DISCUSS BREAKING WITH IMF

Santo Domingo LISTIN DIARIO in Spanish 29 May 84 pp 1, 13

[Article by Saul Pimentel]

[Text] Yesterday political leaders from several different parties discussed interrupting negotiations with the International Monetary Fund; some of them were in favor of doing so and others demanded a complete break with that lending organization.

Individual statements on the subject were made by the general secretary of the Dominican Communist Party, Narciso Isa Conde; chairman of the Constitutional Action Party, Delegate Luis Arzeno Rodriguez; the Socialist Bloc, general secretary of zone "P" of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, Delegate Juan Manon, and Miguel Angel Velazquez Mainardi, the independent delegate.

Isa Conde reiterated his opinion that the government break off negotiations completely with the IMF. He also said that political leaders who have said that that measure is impossible "are not only opposed to a demand that currently unites the great Dominican masses, but are also covering up or side-stepping an answer--different from the so-called adjustments--to the financial crisis" of the IMF.

He said that the interruption of negotiations was a government ploy to frighten the country with the idea that things would be worse without the IMF, or to make the IMF agree to its request to postpone introducing oil into the parallel market of foreign currency.

He stated that instead of limiting itself to that move, what the government should have done was break off completely with the IMF and institute a financial policy which is altogether different from the one created by that agreement.

The Dominican Communist Party suggests, among other things, refusing to pay the foreign debt, state control of all foreign currency, eliminating what is called the "parallel market," using loans for development projects which are at a standstill due to lack of balancing entries, mandatory return to the country's powerful sectors, and a fiscal policy that puts the burden of the crisis on big landowners and large profits.

#### Arzeno

Delegate Arzeno believes that the government's interruption of negotiations with the IMF is "a patriotic move" and he said that every Dominican should support the measure.

He pointed out that, in that regard, President Jorge Blanco took a "nationalist" position that is unquestionably in the interest of Dominicans.

He says that "the situation in the country is critical but if we join forces and wills we can manage by implementing measures that enable us to overcome the ills plaguing us."

#### Socialist Bloc

The Socialist Bloc said that President Jorge Blanco's decision to meet with political leaders should aim at "seeking a consensus on breaking completely with the IMF and not consider continuing those negotiations."

He stated that the government has interrupted negotiations because of the majority demand of the people and it is just a stop along the road mistakenly taken by the government.

"What the country's serious situation requires is not to open the gates of irresolution but rather to change course, break with the IMF and institute a nationalist financial policy with effective measures that will provide a solution to the current crisis," he added.

#### Manon

Delegate Juan Manon of the Dominican Revolutionary Party urged President Jorge Blanco to maintain a firm and nationalistic stand before the IMF since, in his opinion, "the moment requires patriotic stands against obligarchy, Balaguer, Yankee imperialism, and other social sectors hostile to democratic revolution."

Manon, who is also a member of the National Executive Committee of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, said that Latin America is at a difficult stage that is a result of the "United States' military policy and the demands of international banks."

#### Front Proposed

Velazquez Mainardi, the independent delegate, said that interrupting negotiations with the IMF "cannot be underestimated a priori because it opens up the possibility of a complete break."

He affirmed that if a national front could be agreed upon, whose rallying cry was to achieve that goal, that break could be brought about.

He said that "there are objective and subjective conditions for backing such a national front since numerous and varying sectors of society, aware that any agreement with the IMF would intensify the country's financial and social crisis, would be willing to come together for that purpose."

Valazquez Mainardi said, "This national front in favor of a pure and simple break with the IMF would put the country in the position of confronting the financial and social crisis with its own solutions but it would create the virtue of putting its sincerity to the test."

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CSO: 3248/675

BUSINESSMEN'S COUNCIL REACTS FAVORABLY TO JORGE SPEECH

Santo Domingo LISTIN DIARIO in Spanish 25 May 84 pp 1, 12

[Article by Saul Pimentel]

[Text] The National Council of Businessmen (CNHE) yesterday expressed its pleasure at statements made the night before last by President Salvador Jorge Blanco in reference to Dominican employers.

Engineer Hugh Brache, council president, said that the fact that the chief executive acknowledged the importance of the business sector "is very encouraging" and pleases the CNHE.

"For us it is extremely encouraging to see the president's receptiveness and his confidence in what we businessmen can do so that, together, we will really be able to solve this very serious problem we have," he emphasized.

Speaking at the American Chamber of Commerce Monthly Luncheon, the chief of state said that without active participation from the business sector it would be impossible to solve the problems troubling the country.

He stated that the government does "what is necessary for the private sector to be able to play the dynamic role that historic circumstances have imposed on it to survive and develop harmoniously."

Moreover, Brache said that right now Dominican employers are acting coherently and there are "no divisions."

"There isn't a sector or group on the national level that has the level of solidarity and unity of purpose of the council," he added.

He stated that if you compare this organization to any political party or to professional or newspaper associations in general, it will be seen that "none of them have such a clearly defined and clarified unity of purpose as businessmen."

He added that the Herrera Association of Industrial Enterprises has taken an independent route "purely and simply for a difference of strategy or style."

He said that "they (the Herrera businessmen) have their very special interests which they have to defend and we have to attend to a world of interests which are the 40 associations under our direction."

Brache thought it was logical that special interest does not always coincide with the general interest.

"But as far as our basic function, perseverance, the survival of free business, there's where we're exactly the same, and we on the Council of Businessmen are always at the service of the Herrera businessmen in any situation necessary," he emphasized.

Asked if there was any official reaction to the message recently published by the CNHE complaining about the stand taken by certain officials and politicians he responded, "I believe the best answer was the statement made by the president in his speech."

Journalists also asked Engineer Brache about CNHE's relationship with trade union chief Jose Francisco Pena Gomez, and he said that it is "very good."

He added that "we are not connected because our organization does not pay taxes or have anything to do with road repairs but I believe that (the relationship) is very good."

Brache was interviewed yesterday afternoon in the conference room of the Council of Businessmen after a ceremony in which CEDOPEX circulated several export plans."

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TRAWLERS IDLE AFTER ATTACK, SEEK GOVERNMENT PROTECTION

Reaction to Piracy

Georgetown SUNDAY CHRONICLE in English 13 May 84 pp 12-13

[Article by Steve Narine: "When All the Trawlers Came Home"]

[Text] Just before dawn on Monday last, the crew of the shrimp trawler "Kakwarie" picked up a startling bit of news over their shortwave radio: another trawler identified as "Miss Lanita" had been attacked by armed bandits two miles offshore.

Soon the news spread within the Continental Shelf that there was piracy on the high seas; three crewmen were missing and the captain was wounded.

At the time there were over 100 trawlers either fishing within Guyana's 200-mile zone or heading homewards with their holds laden with shrimp and fish.

In the rough, unpredictable sea, where men brave the elements to bring fish and shrimp to Guyana and the world, fishermen are closely knit. A danger to one is a danger to all.

In a move of solidarity, those who were still fishing pulled in their nets and headed for Port Georgetown. Many of them had been fishing for just a day or more while a few had completed more than a month at sea. All headed for home.

By the end of last week all of the trawlers from Guyana Fisheries Ltd., which had cut short their trip, had returned to their fishing grounds. However, trawlers from Seafoods Ltd., were still in Georgetown.

Many captains and crew members are still unhappy that they were not promised more substantial protection by their companies or the state. But they were appreciative of the limitations of such resources.

The SUNDAY CHRONICLE talked to several captains and crew members to find out how they felt since this nerve-racking incident. What is it like to be out there in the sea? How dangerous is this job of shrimping?

The average trawler goes out to sea prepared to spend as long as 40 days. Most of the vessels have a three-man or four-man crew and the captain. They operate within a distance of 200 miles which takes them as far as the Atlantic border with Venezuela.

Vessels are well-stocked with food, first aid kits and 10,000 gallons of water, plus enough fuel to last them 40 days.

One captain explained: "If we work only nights, we can stay on the job for about 40 days. But if we fish night and day, the fuel could last only a month or less. Fishing for shrimp is no sure thing. We don't know where we are going to catch them.

"It could be from 25 degrees to 300 degrees (that is how they measure their distances) and depending on the depth."

Each trawler is expected to bring back between 4 000 lbs to 7 000 lbs of fish in addition to the estimated 5 000 lbs prawn they catch. About 90 per cent of the prawns reach the foreign market. The fish is sold on the local market.

The State-owned Guyana Fisheries Ltd., owns about 12 per cent of the total fleet fishing in Guyana's waters. There is a total of over 130 vessels operating on the Shelf.

Trout, Banga, Croaker, Grouper, Snook, Butter Fish, Snapper, Mackerel, Cabio, Cavalli and Shark are among some of the popular fishes brought in by trawlers.

What are the real dangers facing captains and crew in the Atlantic Ocean?

"There is no danger from the sea itself," one captain emphasised. "We like the work we do and it pays more than many jobs. If you are very careless you could have a collision with another trawler, but this is rare. If we have engine trouble or if we break down, another trawler will take us back to port. High winds or waves or storms, we can handle; we can live with them; they are part of the shrimping life. But banditry is another matter. We don't have any means to protect ourselves."

Captains were asked if they did not keep watch in the night and they said: "We don't keep watch in the night, generally. Crewmen work whole day and even in the night. When they go to sleep, they are tired men.

"It is difficult to know when these thieves are coming aboard. The noise made by the propellers drowns the sounds of any outboard motor approaching us. The bandits could even cut off their engines and coast to the starboard. We wouldn't know until they get aboard our vessel."

"What we want is regular Army patrols. This is not the first time we have had trouble. Some months ago an entire crew and captain were tied up and robbed of their catch. Valuable equipment are stolen. Even trawlers have been reported stolen.

"Anybody who says that we should be able to see when thieves are coming aboard, don't know the conditions out there. Shrimping is hard work. When there is a knockoff, the crew has to catch some 'shut-eye.' They don't have the time or energy to keep watch.

"The captain? Man, he has to watch where he is going. One little miss and he damages a net and he has to pay for it. There is no way we can contribute to our own safety. We have to get outside help."

Despite the apparent danger, there was no one who said he was thinking of quitting. One crewman declared. "It's a tough job. Anyone who's done it knows this. But we like it. We won't exchange it for a shore job. But we have to get protection man. The thing is becoming frightening."

#### Call for Protection

Georgetown SUNDAY CHRONICLE in English 13 May 84 p 12

[Text] What kind of protection is being demanded by the captains and crew?

They feel they should be armed or that an armed soldier should be placed on each one of the estimated 134 vessels operating in Guyana's fishing zone.

The alternative to that is regular [daily and nightly] patrols by the Guyana Defence Force.

What are the possibilities of agreeing to this demand?

Guyana Defence Force officials have explained that at the moment they do not have the capacity to introduce such patrols.

All they can do at the moment is try to maintain a communication link with trawlers when they leave port, while they are fishing and while they are returning to Georgetown.

Efforts will be made by the GDF to provide an escort for trawlers returning to Georgetown with their catch. Captains are also being encouraged to return to port during daylight as much as possible.

As far as providing firearms to trawlers is concerned, it is a far more difficult proposition. A top Police official explained that the granting of a firearm licence has to be considered "very, very carefully" and all the "complications and implications" looked at before such a decision is made.

He added: "Granting permission to one person takes very special consideration. Giving licences en masse to 150 persons is a very sensitive matter. It is full of potential problems and danger."

### Charges Against Six

Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 15 May 84 pp 1, 3

[Text] Six fishermen have been charged with the murder of three members of the Georgetown Seafoods trawler "Miss Lanita."

Three of them have already been arrested by the Police who are to seek a Bench Warrant for the arrest of the other three.

Those arrested and charged are Jagdat Narine Sumra called "Ballo," 31, Roy Mangra, 23, and David Tryfield, 48, all of Better Hope, East Coast, Demerara.

The Police will be seeking Bench Warrants for the arrest of Roy Glad, called "Django," 34, of East La Penitence Housing Scheme, Winston Jacobs called "Strongman," 31, of Better Hope, East Coast, Demerara and Pelham Grey called "Dread," 24, of Lodge Housing Scheme.

Sumra, Mangra and Tryfield are expected to appear before a City Magistrate today.

They are charged with murdering Henry Fernandes, Jerome Fernandes and Michael Dially, all of East Bank, Demerara, "off the shores of Georgetown and in the Georgetown Magisterial District in Guyana."

Captain of Miss Lanita and his three-member crew were shot and thrown overboard about two miles off port Georgetown, as they were returning to port after a fishing expedition.

Joseph Fernandes, the captain of the trawler, was rescued by a passing boat after he had held on to a log for some time.

The Police said yesterday there is little hope of recovering the bodies of the three other members of the crew.

### Search for Bodies

Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 15 May 84 p 1

[Text] A team from the Maritime Command of the Guyana Defence Force yesterday afternoon left Port Georgetown to make another search for the bodies of the three members of the crew of "Miss Lanita."

It was disclosed that the GDF, in collaboration with the Police and other agencies, have already made four searches at various points.

A spokesman for the Police said that chances of recovering the bodies are very slim. He did not hold out much hope on the eighth day since the men were shot and dumped overboard.

## Trawlers' Return to Sea

Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 15 May 84 p 1

[Article by Bert Wilkinson]

[Text] The captains of 48 Georgetown Seafoods' trawlers yesterday piloted their vessels back to fishing grounds after refusing to sail for nearly a week, in protest against the shooting of four of their colleagues and the hijacking of the vessel's catch last Monday.

The return to sea by more than 50 percent of the fleet of the country's largest trawling company, was made possible after management met Police Commissioner Lloyd Barker at Eve Leary yesterday. The captains were reportedly given certain assurances, the details of which were not released up to last night.

A senior company spokesman said last night that most of the remaining vessels will leave today, ending one of the worst crises in the fishing and shrimping industry in recent years.

Last week's hijack, for which six men have been charged, also triggered the return to port by vessels belonging to the State-owned, Guyana Fisheries Limited, GFL crews, however, went back out of Port Georgetown, two days later, after discussions with management, the Police and the Guyana Defence Force.

Home Affairs Minister Jeffrey Thomas told the CHRONICLE last night that while his Ministry has not yet made any firm decisions, the various proposals put forward on behalf of captains are being carefully considered.

The Seafoods management had been extremely worried about the "hundreds of thousands of dollars" the firm was losing daily as a result of the lay up of its vessels, which, like most State and privately-owned trawlers, concentrate on shrimping, against the background of a very lucrative market.

Meanwhile, consumers have been paying more for fish at City markets. Most of the vendors who resorted to increasing their prices, have blamed shortages of fish on the action of the captains.

CSO: 3298/909

## GAWU, GUYSUCO IN TALKS ON NEW COLLECTIVE LABOR PACT

Georgetown MIRROR in English 13 May 84 p 4

[Text] Talks on a new collective labour agreement between GAWU and Guysuco commenced last week. At the bargaining table discussions so far have been completed on the union's proposals for merit increment, matters relating to the hours of work and overtime, and premium work for all categories of workers in the sugar industry.

GAWU is asking the state corporation Guysuco, to grant a merit increment to those employees who have performed well in the previous year. The proposal stipulates that tests for merit increment shall be done in October each year and the effective date for implementation shall be January 1 each year. These employees shall also include motor transport drivers, charge-hands and checkers.

The union is also calling for the guaranteed hours of work for a normal basic week to be 40 hours for all employees. Other demands include a 20-minute meal break for shift employees, without loss of pay, and for adequate relief personnel to be available. A normal shift shall be on an 8-hour basis for all employees with the exception of those employees on split shift. All time rated employees to be given 15 minutes snack break in the morning and afternoon without loss of pay. Provision for a lunch break for all non-shift time rated employees at least for an hour. That piece-rated employees shall not leave aback later than 3 pm.

The proposal for overtime and premium work is for all categories of workers to be given one and one-half times their rate for the first two hours in excess of 8 hours of work and double payment for each hour or part there-of worked to the nearest 15 minutes. Double pay for work done on off-duty days and during holidays with pay; two and one-half time wage rate for working on national holidays and thrice the rate for Sundays and special holidays. At least four hours notice to be given to workers who are required to work overtime. Workers who are requested to work double shifts must be paid at the rate of double time for all hours worked in excess of normal working hours. Transportation should be provided. Employees required to report to duty before the normal hour should be paid double time the basic hourly rate for all hours worked before the scheduled time of reporting for duty.

The more than 53 proposals put up by GAWU, including that of wage increases, will be examined at the bargaining table when further talks between the union and Guysuco resume shortly.

CSO: 3298/910

GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE CLOSED FOLLOWING POLICE RAID

Criticism of GRO Operations

Georgetown SUNDAY CHRONICLE in English 13 May 84 p 8

[Text] The General Registrar's Office [GRO] has become one of the most controversial and vilified government offices in recent years.

The important role it has been assigned together with the fact that in the eyes of many members of the public it has not been doing a good job at fulfilling its mandate has made it the victim of severe tongue-lashings.

Over the years it has had a battery of complaints levelled against it and members of its staff have been accused of a multitude of sins ranging from inefficiency and a lackadaisical approach to their work to bribery and other corrupt practices.

There have also been reports of discourtesy to members of the public who the workers are paid to serve and who are entitled to fair, efficient and courteous service.

There have been reports of persons waiting in vain for more than two years hoping to get a copy of a certificate. One member of the public complained that he has submitted six applications in six years for a birth certificate he has not yet received.

It will therefore not be surprising if many members of the public are overjoyed at the recent announcement that a concerted attempt is now being made to re-organise the GRO with an eye to providing an improved service.

The restructuring project is being undertaken by the Management Series Division of the Public Service Ministry in keeping with the terms of a contract with the Home Affairs Ministry.

The task of the project manager (Joylyn Lyle) and her staff will not be an easy one for the problems at the GRO are deeply rooted. These include:

- inadequate space for storage;
- inadequate accommodation for staff and a depressing working environment;
- a high rate of staff turnover;

- a sometimes insensitive public to cope with;
- an inadequate system for the compilation, storage and retrieval of important data; and, of course,
- a mental block in the minds of the public about the GRO itself.

The problems have been further complicated by the fact that the decline in the quality of service being offered by the GRO has been accompanied by a corresponding increase in applications for birth, death and marriage certificates.

Various reasons--including the fact that more Guyanese have been travelling overseas in recent times and need to have certificates to process their passport applications have been given for the increasing demand for these certificates.

Some members of the public feel that the more applications they send, the greater are their chances of obtaining the "elusive" document. However, they fail to realise that the more applications there are for a single certificate, the greater becomes the confusion over its retrieval.

Another dimension to the problem is that some people apply for several copies of a single certificate, a feature which sometime ago prompted one senior government functionary to remark that the GRO is being used as a printery.

The view has also been expressed that members of the public do not pay the real cost of obtaining a birth certificate. The three dollars now being paid by members of the public is far below the estimated \$20 it costs, in manhours, materials and storage space, to process a single application.

The most damaging of the allegations against the GRO are charges that some clerks have been demanding money from the public for services rendered.

It is true that some members of the public offer rewards (tips) to workers of the department for work which they are paid to do.

In some cases, such rewards are the result of feelings of gratitude. In many other cases however, they reflect a malignant feature in Guyanese society where many people feel that unless they "pass some money," the job would not be done.

Many members of the public seem to have no difficulty with tips being given to workers. Where the difficulty arises, however, is with workers holding members of the public to ransom by demanding in some cases in excess of \$50 to provide a single copy of a certificate.

The situation becomes truly alarming when one links these reports with other reliable reports about missing ledgers and missing "blank," forms.

In some instances, the workers themselves are said to be responsible for many of the problems facing the department. It has been noted, for example, that registers are sometimes left lying around carelessly after use thus adding to the confusion.



Now that serious consideration is being given to the restructuring of the GRO complete with computerised storage and retrieval system, one hopes that consideration will also be given to a thoughtful decentralising of the service.

Meanwhile, in this restructuring exercise, careful thought must also be given to whether the available space at the GPO building is adequate to accommodate all the records and at the same time provide both staff and members of the public with adequate facilities.

In addition, even as the restructuring exercise is in train, members of the public [parents in particular] should start placing greater emphasis on the security of documents such as birth, death, and marriage certificates.

They should remember that perhaps, the greatest contribution they could make to an efficient Registrar's Office is caring their documents thus reducing considerably the frequency with which they might otherwise have to resort to the services of the GRO. (GNA)

#### Police Action

Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 15 May 84 p 1

[Text] Home Affairs Minister Jeffrey Thomas, in an unusual move, yesterday led a Police swoop at the General Register Office.

The Minister, whose portfolio includes responsibility for the office which performs a vital public service, was accompanied by detectives from CID Headquarters when he arrived at the Office about 15.30 hours.

They spent a considerable period looking at various papers and afterwards, Crime Chief Cecil "Skip" Roberts reported that birth certificates, affidavits, receipts and other documents were seized.

He added that two members of the GRO staff were taken to CID Headquarters where they are assisting the Police investigations.

Numerous allegations about corrupt practices have been levelled at staff members of the GRO in recent times.

#### Announcement of Closure

Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 15 May 84 p 1

[Text] The General Register Office (GRO), located in the building of the Post Office Corporation, will be closed for one month as from today.

The closure is necessary to facilitate GRO's restructuring programme aimed at improving its service to members of the public.

According to the Project Manager of the restructuring exercise Joylyn Lyle, standby arrangements have been put in place to facilitate members of the public who may need birth, death or marriage certificates in a hurry.

There should be no cause for alarm since the GRO also proposes that very important requests such as would facilitate Government pensioners, urgent travel requirements, social security purposes and school entrance would be attended.

This limited service for emergency cases will be provided at the Ministry of Home Affairs on Brickdam.

During the period of the closure, a skeleton staff will be working at the General Register Office to sort out the records, while others will be deployed to various Government Departments.

The GRO has undertaken a restructuring programme in collaboration with the Management Service Division of the Ministry of Public Service in an effort to introduce an efficient operating system.

The Project Manager explained that as the restructuring programme continues it may again become necessary to close the office in the near future. (GNA)

CSO: 3298/910

## GREENIDGE CLARIFIES IPS REPORT ON REMARKS TO JOURNALISTS

Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 22 May 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] Finance and Economic Planning Minister, Cal Greenidge has pointed out that the IPS article headlined: "Greenidge sees rays of hope" and published in Monday's issue of the GUYANA CHRONICLE did not adequately capture the content and general thrust of his remarks to journalists in Jamaica.

In addition, the article did not reflect the realities of the Guyana situation as he had outlined them to the journalists.

He said the statement attributed to him that efforts so far have yielded few concrete improvements was erroneous.

He said that in his remarks to journalists, he pointed out that in spite of difficulties being experienced in securing financial support from multilateral and bilateral agencies, Guyana has been able to cope by employing a number of domestic measures.

He also pointed out that:

--Sugar has for the first time in many years passed the 100 000-ton target for the 1st crop;

--Bauxite production in the first quarter was better than had been planned; and

--In the key area of mineral exploration, Guyana had concluded mutually beneficial agreements with several major companies in both the East and West.

In addition, and as was pointed out in Monday's article Guyana has reached agreement with friendly countries with respect to vital capital projects in the important energy and agricultural sectors.

There was however an urgent need for increased utilisation of the country's productive capacity.

He also pointed out that it was not true--as the article contended--that the USA had successfully blocked Guyana's loan applications to the IDB although the USA's objections had led to delays in two significant and major cases. (GNA)

## BISHOP GEORGE SCORES GOVERNMENT, ASSERTS CHURCH SIDES WITH POOR

Georgetown CATHOLIC STANDARD in English 13 May 84 pp 1, 4

[Text] Presenting his charge to the 1984 Synod of the Anglican Church, Bishop Randolph George declared; "We cannot avoid choosing between the groups Jesus identified--the mighty, who will eventually fall from their thrones and the poor and disadvantaged... We must always find ourselves on the side of the poor and the oppressed.

"(In this) the church may expect ridicule from the established sectors of society."

Noting that "A decade ago the Churches, CARICOM and other regional institutions were engaged in a lively and creative search for more authentic, sustainable and appropriate life styles," the Bishop remarked that the search for the new Caribbean man appears to have been called off.

He also warned that "the protection of standards and rights has deteriorated steadily."

"On the first score of political systems we have the continuing scandal of one territory which has not seen a free or fair election for twenty years.

"In another, the continuing disregard for constitutionality not only provided a lever for its antics, but eventually helped destroy the process itself."

The Bishop continued, "Where the electoral system is swept away or undermined, the prospects for dignity and freedom in the rest of the Caribbean are also threatened.

"The focus of attention then shifts to the retaining of a facade of democracy, rather than making provision for the real sharing by citizens in the decision-making processes, which is the true foundation of democratic government."

Speaking on freedom of expression in the region the Bishop said, "The experience of the decade has shown that this preoccupation has been overshadowed by a growing sensitivity on the part of the region's politicians to any form of criticism.

"A plethora of licensing laws have emerged, setting large bonds on newspapers, censorship, restriction on newsprint, ... and finally, the wholesale distortion of news to promote a positive image of the government.

"Considerable restriction on the media is justified by the doctrine of 'Development Support Communications' by which is meant that the role of the press is to support the Government's development programme.

"Ultimately, no distinction is made between ownership by the State and control by the ruling party. All is bent to the service of the latter....

"Our territories are closing in on themselves as governments conceal the truth--even from themselves."

The Bishop went on to speak of the preferential option for the poor, "There is a mistaken and widespread notion that the Church must never seem to be against any group. But in the light of the gospel imperative we must always find ourselves on the side of the poor and the oppressed."

Summing up, the Bishop stated, "While not supporting the freedom of the rich to own and control newspapers, we should defend the right of any legal social groups to publish their views...."

"We should not accept any revolutionary right to rule by edict or any 'revolutionary law' which violates the principles of freedom and dignity."

CSO: 3298/910

YOUTH MOVEMENT MESSAGE HAILS GAINS OF REVOLUTION

Georgetown SUNDAY CHRONICLE in English 20 May 84 p 12

[Text] The Young Socialist Movement, in a message on the occasion of Youth Week, has resolved that all youths should walk with President Forbes Burnham, the Government, and all adults, to militantly guard the gains of "our Revolution."

The message signed by Cde James Bovel-Drakes, the National Secretary of the Y.S.M. reads:

"On the occasion of Youth Week 1984 the Young Socialist Movement extends revolutionary and fraternal greetings to the entire youth masses of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana."

"While we seek this opportunity to celebrate by participating in the various cultural, social, economic and sporting activities, of this annual event of our country, let us resolve as the best of our resources to steadfastly walk with the leader, government and our adult folks of this country, to militantly guard the gains of our Revolution and the achievements of our people through their arduous, selfless and committee contributions towards the development of our country in order to secure a better future for us and particularly the youths of our Mother Land."

"In recognition of the historic role of our forebearers and particularly our leader and party, the Y.S.M. issues a call for cooperative action by all youth, forces in our country to combat:

- (I) The evils of the economic crisis imposed upon us by imperialism and the selfish, adamant industrial worth.
- (II) To take to the land and help in the process of developing our agricultural potential.
- (III) To enhance the process of combating delinquency and upgrading the moral standards among youth in the community and the school.

We call on all youth to make International Year of Youth 1985 meaningful and as we take to the road for the 12th World Festival 1985 in Moscow we are assured of every success.

"There is a bright future ahead for the youths of this country. Let us face the challenges before us unitedly and boldly and take up the torch in the struggle for survival.

"Forward ever, Backward never."

CSO: 3298/910

## BRIEFS

PPP OFFICIAL'S DEATH--Rekhabdeo Chowbay, Central Committee member of the People's Progressive Party and Party Organiser, died in a road accident on Sunday last on the Essequibo Coast, near Adventure. Chowbay, 41 years of age, was an Executive Member of the Progressive Youth Organisation. He was formerly an organiser in the North West District, then the Essequibo Coast and Islands and only recently was transferred to the lower East Coast. He has left to mourn, his parents and wife Baidwattie, a Central Committee Member of the Women's Progressive Organisation, two sons and a daughter. Chowbay had two close shaves with death recently, when he was involved in the crash of an Aeroflot plane in Luxembourg, but survived, and before that when a boat he was in sank, in the North West. His two companions died in that accident. Funeral services and a cremation were held at Lima on Tuesday last, when his coffin was draped with the Party flag and the Party song was sung just before cremation. In a letter of sympathy to Chowbay's parents, PPP General Secretary, Cheddi Jagan expressed the respect the Party had for Chowbay and praised his contributions to the struggle. The flat at Freedom House, headquarters of the PPP, was flown at half mast. MIRROR staff joins in expressing its condolences at the death of Rekhabdeo Chowbay. [Text] [Georgetown MIRROR in English 13 May 84 p 1]

HOUSING CO-OP MANAGEMENT--Linden--(GNA)--Minister of Manpower and Cooperatives Kenneth Denny said Friday that the time has come when consideration must be given to the possibility of handing back the management of a number of housing societies to their respective memberships. Cde Denny made the observation while holding informal discussions with residents of the Wisroc Housing Cooperative Society. Heading a team of housing and cooperative officials Cde Denny was in Linden to have a first-hand look at problems affecting members of the society. Noting that the Central Housing and Planning Authority (CHPA) was responsible for the management of a number of housing societies including Wisroc, the Minister said that this situation was placing additional burden on the Housing Ministry. However, he noted that a handover will not be possible until the accounts of these societies were regularised. Cde Denny was responding to issues raised by leaders of the society including chairman James Barker. Among the problems raised were inadequate public service facilities, the alleged unauthorised sale of the society's property and unfulfilled promises of visiting government ministers. [Text] [Georgetown SUNDAY CHRONICLE in English 20 May 84 p 6]



CHARGES AGAINST POLICE--Georgetown, Guyana, May 23, (CANA)--Three policemen were charged today with the murder of 19-year-old labourer Trevor Waterman, who died on April 21 after he was allegedly beaten at the Kitty police station, on the city's southern outskirts. Waterman was picked up by police on April 20 for questioning in connection with the theft of a quantity of articles from a shop and when his mother visited him the following day, she found him bleeding and semiconscious. Charged are Lance Corporal Mansoor Hamid, Constable Thomas Higgins and Constable Joyce Bentick. The three are accused of unlawfully killing Waterman. [Text] [Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 24 May 84 p 7]

CSO: 3298/911

BISHOPS EXPRESS CONCERN OVER FOREIGN RELIGIOUS PENETRATION

Situation in Campeche Described

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 22 May 84 pp 1-A, 12-A, 14-A

[Article by Salvador Martinez S.]

[Text] Campeche, Camp. 21 May--Scores of apparently Christian-based sects, with real ideological penetration, sponsored from abroad, that inculcate irreverence for natural values, the loss of national identity and social disarticulation, have succeeded in "converting" to their principles over 12 percent of the state's citizenry, the bishop of Campeche, Hector Gonzalez Martinez, noted with concern.

The bishop indicated that this is not a phenomenon limited to Campeche but which affects the whole country in which over 300 different denominations are working, among them Jehovah's Witnesses, Pentecostals, Mormons, Presbyterians, Methodists and others.

He indicated that the intentions of all these groups may be to announce the Good News, but "there may be intentions which are unspoken and which may be harmful to Mexico because the citizenry will become more divided and authentic national values will be undermined, as well as the Catholic faith."

Bishop Gonzalez Martinez explained that many of these sects have shown contempt for national values and gave as an example the fact of refusing to honor the flag or other civic duties and "what would be more serious, reducing religious life to the scope of one's conscience, of the temple, without projection to public life."

This, he explained, means that they are inculcating a renewal or continuation of dualisms, that is, a separation between faith and life, between religious life and public life, which leads to social disarticulation.

He recognized that part of this influence of the sects on the citizenry is the responsibility of the Catholic Church, and stems from the shortage of priests and religious women to promote pastoral attention to all groups of the citizenry.

In a talk with this correspondent, the bishop of Campeche indicated that to date over 60,000 persons have been "converted" to these sects, representing over 12 percent of the state's total population, calculated at half a million inhabitants.

He pointed out that in nearly all cases, it is foreigners, mainly from the U.S., who initiate proselytizing labors in favor of these sects, addressing basically the lower-middle and lower classes, as well as groups of Indians who are easy prey to any influence.

In his offices of the bishopric of the cathedral of Campeche, Monsignor Gonzalez Martinez said that such groups also rely on strong economic support, for when they have managed to convince only a small number of persons, they immediately build a church, which "can only be explained by means of support from abroad."

The bishop said "we are working to open the eyes of so many people who have been led astray about the reasons for being Catholic. Extensive information is needed to reveal the truth about the church founded by Jesus Christ and to avoid other influences alien to our unique nature."

The bishop referred also to the influence of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (ILV)--these can be some of its ramifications--about which, he said, the authorities of the Secretariat of Interior are the authorities responsible for taking care of this problem, because they know that behind this organization there are intentions other than those publicly expressed.

He added that it is likewise the responsibility of interior and the civil authorities to take the necessary steps so that among the groups of Guatemalan refugees who settle in the state, proselytes of these sects will not come with other intentions.

#### Episcopal Document Highlights Chihuahua

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 2 Jun 84 pp 5-A, 23-A

[Article by Carlos Velasco M.]

[Text] The Mexican Episcopate reported that the rural citizenry "so far have been protected from Protestant propaganda. They are being won over by the sects, which are seeking to break up national unity."

In the Mexican Episcopate Conference document called "The Proselytism of the Sects, a Grave Danger to the Faith of Mexicans," the aforesaid is stated and in addition it is specified that such groups "are carrying out their activities with very abundant economic resources, which come from the U.S." Then he explains that in the north of the national territory, they also sponsor radio and TV programs for the same purposes.

He remarks that a single sect "spends \$2,000 on a single radio or TV program. A good deal of very costly printed propaganda is also being distributed."

For the past 10 years, reports the document which was distributed among the bishops attending the 33rd Plenary Session of the Episcopate, in Mexico there has not been a serious intensification of proselytizing by sects of Protestant origin or other non-Christian groups.

This activity may be observed with greater intensity in the dioceses bordering the U.S., for most of groups come from that country.

The clearest example of this serious growth of the sects in Mexico, he adds, "is Chihuahua, where until a few years ago there were only 5, while at the moment 17 are known to exist."

Some of these groups are Baptists, Pentecostals and Jehovah's Witnesses, among others. They are known as biblical sects. "And the semibiblical sects are those which, besides the Bible, accept some other revealed book or the possibility of the continuation of divine revelation by means of the founder of the group or of his successors."

Or else, the leaders attribute to themselves such authority and such pretensions, which practically go beyond the Bible with their own doctrines. Among these groups are the Mormons, Christian Science, the Children of God, the Gnostic Church, and the Unification Church (Moonies), among many others.

In the fact of this situation, the Conference of the Mexican Episcopate asserted that everything is due to the fact that "there has been an abuse of some freedoms granted in Mexico" and "there is the risk that these sects will disarticulate the national conscience."

"These groups," he reported, "make use of the Catholic faith which is one of the facts that make up the conscience of the Mexican citizenry and, therefore, when it makes them lose that faith they pretend to reach the people's conscience."

Action by the ILV

Regarding the Summer Institute of Linguistics, the Episcopate explains that "this organization, made up of U.S. nationals, is a clear penetration by the culture of their country into ours."

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CSO: 3248/686

## EXPANSION OF ANTICRIME MEASURES IN FEDERAL DISTRICT UNDER WAY

## Citizens' Vigilance Committees

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 22 May 84 pp 4-A, 27-A

[Article by Nidia Marin]

[Text] The walls go up and are topped with barbed wire; neighborhoods and housing developments in the capital close themselves off to foot traffic; private police guardhouses proliferate; more and more citizens begin carrying guns; and watchdogs are trained to be vicious, but the fact is that crime is up 300 percent over the past 17 months, and public safety is a serious problem. Meanwhile, charges against policemen pile up at the Secretariat of Protection and Roads, but because of the "amparo" provision, 90 percent of them are dismissed.

In the meantime, under pressure from their constituents, the delegates of the Federal District Department demand additional manpower to insure public safety, inasmuch as crime has increased sharply, perhaps as much as citizen self-defense, which makes the problem worse.

The crime rate is officially regarded as highest at present in the following districts: Azcapotzalco (where there are even gangs of women, such as the so-called "Burbujas"; other districts have them too), Gustavo A. Madero, Venustiano Carranza, Miguel Hidalgo and Cuauhtemoc, where the crime problem is compounded by prostitution, which is regarded as a consequence of the impoverishment caused by the economic crisis.

The Alvaro Obregon district is also beset with the social problem posed by Los Panchitos and dozens of other gangs, which are terrorizing the Miguel Hidalgo and Venustiano Carranza districts as well.

District Prosecutor Victoria Adato de Ibarra recently stated that crime is up 300 percent over the past 17 months, and new Public Ministry branches have been set up to tackle the problem; some districts, in fact, now have five such branches. The most recently inaugurated branch is in Iztapalapa.

Moreover, the feeling is that top-level police officials find themselves undercut at present, while people who have a great deal of experience but who are also quite corrupt hold down completely bureaucratic posts and have no opportunity to act because at the moment it is the top military, not paramilitary officials who are carrying the ball.

#### Personnel Shortages

On top of all this comes a most serious problem: the shortage of personnel. Estimates are that there are 33,000 policemen in all in the city, including riot and mounted police, patrolmen, bank guards and auxiliary police. A great many of them, however, are tainted, as they have been charged with assorted crimes.

Because of apathy and fear among citizens, 90 to 95 percent of their complaints against policemen are dismissed under the "amparo." Moreover, they receive the salary that was withheld from them for the duration of their legal problem and they are reinstated at their former rank.

Meanwhile, the districts are demanding additional police manpower. Coyoacan recruited 80 men, and they are being trained at the Police Academy. It also asked for about 30 more vehicles (patrol cars and panel trucks), even though the official report to Gen Ramon Mota Sanchez, the secretary general of protection and roads, stated that the problem was one "of people."

During the most recent meeting of the heads of the secretariat and the 16 delegates, sympathy was expressed for the idea of setting up a mounted police station to serve districts with difficult terrain, such as Pedregales and Culuhacanes (there are only alleys in the latter), and to bolster police protection.

Moreover, in that district as well as in certain areas of Miguel Hidalgo (Las Lomas) and Tlalpan, the police have even used motor graders to prevent streets from being closed off with walls, large planters, fences and barbed wire.

Though this problem is spreading, it is confined mostly to residential areas, and it is not as widespread as gun ownership by private citizens as a means of self-defense.

#### Vigilance Committees

Vigilance (or self-defense) committees are also expanding, in the Venustiano Carranza and Gustavo A. Madero districts for example. The identity of their members is kept secret for obvious reasons.

This development is not hard to understand. The Tlalpan district, for example, which covers 1/5 of the capital's land area, has only 250 agents from the Secretariat of Protection and Roads, while Xochimilco has 180 and Contreras 90.

Desertion is also a factor, either because the personnel are not well suited to police work or because they are unaccustomed to military discipline, which is far removed from the paramilitary discipline that a civilian can more easily assimilate.

Policemen complain that they are treated poorly, but in the judgment of experts they often use this as a pretext for corruption, which the current authorities have been unable to uproot, perhaps because they have been in office a very short time and have thus not employed the proper methods.

All of the districts in Mexico City are considered to be facing the same situation, and there are those who claim that the problem is that the local police chiefs are answerable only to the Secretariat of Protection and Roads, not to their respective districts.

People in the Benito Juarez district are saying that the increase in manpower has not yet done any good, though the decision by the local police not to send mere thugs into the streets instead of policemen is understandable.

This district has the same problem as 80 percent of Mexico City, however. It has the equipment (patrol cars, panel trucks, motorcycles, etc, part of the 500 patrol vehicles that the president turned over some 4 months ago), but they are manned by only one officer instead of two; in other words, there is a shortage of high-quality manpower.

In addition, the feeling in Benito Juarez is that the police should set up more centers to hear citizen complaints so that the men in uniform are brought into the picture, inasmuch as there has been an estrangement between them and the citizenry.

Meanwhile, this week or next the president will turn over another 500 patrol vehicles, but the problem will remain the same: the lack of trained personnel.

The problem is such that the request by the Tlalpan district, which is similar to those of the 15 others, will presumably not be met. It asked for 20 patrol vehicles (each of which requires 2 trained policemen) and the installation of security units in its 8 precincts and in various neighborhoods, which also need more policemen and other minor improvements.

Amid all this, fences are being built higher and are even being electrified in residential districts throughout the city; housing developments such as Barrio de Santiago are closing off their streets (though this makes matters worse if there is a fire or robbery because no one can enter), and since the previous administration entire neighborhoods are banning vehicle traffic, such as Cuicuilco in Coyoacan.

## Old System Revived

Mexico City UNOMASUNO in Spanish 7 Jun 84 p 27

[Text] The head of the Federal District Department, Ramon Aguirre Velazquez, yesterday turned over 500 patrol cars and 100 panel trucks to the General Secretariat of Protection and Roads (SGPV) to enhance police protection in this city and announced that 500 more would be handed over before the end of the year.

During a ceremony in the western parking lot of the Azteca Stadium, the head of the Federal District Department heard Gen Ramon Mota Sanchez explain the programs that the SGPV has started up and their results. Mota Sanchez acknowledged that crime has increased.

After stressing continuing training for uniformed police, Gen Ramon Mota Sanchez indicated that a new system has been established to take advantage of the new equipment; it involves assigning each of the patrols to a specific section of each district so that, as in the 1950's, residents see policemen as just other members of the community.

Mota Sanchez said that the idea is for citizens "to get to know their policemen better, because the patrol vehicles are always going to be manned by the same officers." The Protection and Roads Secretariat said that the new program has two main goals: to get citizens to trust the police more and to make the vehicles last longer by making only two persons responsible for the damage they incur due to negligence. It bears remembering that each of the patrol vehicles is worth more than 2 million pesos.

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## NICARAGUAN AMBASSADOR DISCUSSES RELATIONS WITH PORTUGAL

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 8 Jun 84 p 11

[Interview with Nicaraguan Ambassador to Portugal Fanor Herrera Perez by Filipe Vieira; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Fanor Herrera Perez, an architect 30 years of age, is the first ambassador sent by Nicaragua to Lisbon since the fall of the Somoza dynasty 5 years ago. At present a member of the Sandinist Assembly (the structural counterpart to the national councils in our party structure), a founder and deputy secretary general of the Sandinist Youth, and for 2 years a member of the Council of State (parliament), Herrera Perez presented his credentials to President Ramalho Eanes on 27 April. This is his first diplomatic post abroad, and he assigns special political importance to his new duties. In the view of Ambassador Perez, "Portugal can play an important role in the development of the international relations" of his country, and he stressed that the Portuguese authorities "have adopted positive attitudes" with regard to his government.

DIARIO DE NOTICIAS: The recent statements made by Commander Daniel Ortega following his talks with Secretary of State George Shultz indicate a desire to move closer to the Reagan administration. Is there in fact a rapprochement between Managua and Washington?

Fanor Herrera Perez: We have always sought to establish good relations with the United States. We have economic and diplomatic relations with Washington, and the fact is that our revolutionary program defines the development of this type of relations with the peoples who, in one way or another, share our views. In this respect, our policy on the international level serves to win greater support from certain governments and parties and to establish the best relations possible, with the United States included. We have never moved away from the United States, but have always submitted proposals for peace and dialogue. This is the most civilized way of resolving our problems and tensions, but the United States has always offered us a policy of war and constant aggression.

Concerning the talks between Shultz and Commander Daniel Ortega, I truly do not have any official information on the matter. But as a Nicaraguan, I believe that we can speak of a triumph for ourselves, because we have succeeded in persuading the Reagan administration that dialogue is the best and most civilized way of reaching understanding.

## No Support for Salvadoran Guerrillas

DIARIO DE NOTICIAS: This possible rapprochement is dictated by concrete facts. I recall the compromise proposal formulated by your government, according to which Nicaragua would promise not to provide the guerrilla fighters operating in neighboring El Salvador with military support. Do you agree?

Fanor Herrera Perez: Well, from the moral point of view, we have stood with the people of El Salvador in their struggle, because we know well what this struggle costs. These are struggles dating back many years, centuries, and the Salvadoran people know what they must do.

However there are a series of aspects at which one can look. The matter of our support of the Salvadoran guerrillas may be one of them. But moral support of one people by another cannot be defined.

DIARIO DE NOTICIAS: At this time is there no military support?

Fanor Herrera Perez: No, no! We have never provided military support because we believe that it is not necessary. Even the Americans, who supplied El Salvador with weapons, saw that the people could inflict a defeat on the government forces and the forces of intervention. In such cases, as happened with us, weapons are seized from our enemies, and we do not need sophisticated equipment to wage war. We know that the rampart of the people is the main weapon.

But it was precisely the United States which accused us of providing military support to the Salvadorans, while there was no obvious proof. Neither the U.S. Congress nor the UN nor any other international body could find any. All of this is nothing but a flag waved by the United States to represent us as aggressors and a factor in destroying stability in the region.

## Reliance on Multiparty System in Elections

DIARIO DE NOTICIAS: Is the Sandinist government seeking to provide proof through the holding of elections in Nicaragua on 4 November that in fact it does not want to establish the single-party system, and that a Cuban model is not wanted for your country?

Fanor Herrera Perez: The original aspect of our revolution can be seen as a function of the fulfillment of the program on which we won. We have already said that we favor democratic pluralism, a mixed economy and the broad development of international relations allowing us to create room for support. Obviously the elections are a part of the process of democratization which our people are experiencing for the first time. We also believe that these elections will still further institutionalize our revolution and still further consolidate the structuring of democracy in our country, which is precisely our goal.

DIARIO DE NOTICIAS: Domestically, and on the part of the opposition, there is disagreement with the fact that these elections will be open to the

population over 16 years of age. This provision is generally viewed as designed to capitalize on the votes of young people, who are regarded as closest to the Sandinist Front. What reason led to this decision?

Fanor Herrera Perez: We could say that of the 2.5 million individuals making up our population, approximately 70 percent are under 24 years of age, and their role has been a great one, both prior to the triumph of the revolution and now, in the political leadership of the country. The young people, particularly those of 15 and 16 and older, truly participated in all aspects, some of them vital, of the process which led to the triumph of the revolution. They are now firmer and more responsible, and this is not mere rhetoric, but a fact which has concrete expression of which we might cite as an example the national literacy campaign, in which a half of the population is teaching the other half to read and write.

In other sectors of national life, such as production, the young people have pursued conscious activity with a high level of understanding of the domestic and international situations. Therefore it is no surprise that participation in our elections is demanded by the youngest stratum as well. It is no accident that there are many young people in the leadership of the revolution, both in the government and in the parties, the right-wing parties included, in which there are many young enthusiasts. It is also these young people who are on the frontier of the defense of the revolution.

All of this is obvious. Anyone can see that it is true in Nicaragua. These young people therefore also have the right to decide what party and what government they want.

DIARIO DE NOTICIAS: What is your analysis of the development of relations between Portugal and Nicaragua, and what prospects are opening up, in your view, for the future?

Fanor Herrera Perez: Portugal had very limited relations with Nicaragua in the Somoza era. Since the revolutionary triumph, we have sought to develop better relations with friendly countries, with the countries which in one way or another have supported our revolutionary project. We believe that Portugal can play an important role in the development of our international relations. In the various shadings of democracy, we can always find a point of agreement to establish better relations. We are here precisely because we believe that we have found some points of agreement enabling us to establish better political and diplomatic relations, and if possible, trade and economic relations as well. Portugal has adopted positive attitudes with regard to our government in the various international bodies, and we can only hope that they will continue.

5157

CSO: 3242/3

## ROBELO SUGGESTS REASSESSMENT IF PASTORA REMAINS INFLEXIBLE

Rome IL TEMPO in Italian 29 May 84 p 20

[Article by Giorgio Torchia: "Guerilla Representative Considers Unification of Various Factions Necessary; Plan Is Opposed by Famous 'Comandante Zero'-- Danger of Lebanonization"]

[Text] San Jose, 28 May--The prospect of a "Lebanonization" phenomenon in Nicaragua and thus, the need for unification of the various anti-Sandinist organizations are emphasized by Alfonso Robelo. Forty-five years old, refined, good-looking, with a face adorned by a short beard framing lively eyes, chemical engineer Alfonso Robelo is the political brain of ARDE [Democratic Revolutionary Alliance]. ARDE comprises those sectors which could be defined as the Democratic Left of the coalition hostile to the government in Managua. The other coalition is the FDR [Revolutionary Democratic Front] [as published; should read FDN--Nicaraguan Democratic Force]. While ARDE (which has as its military leader Eden Pastora, the famous "Comandante Zero" of the war against Somoza) operates in southern Nicaragua towards the border with Costa Rica, the FDN (whose military brain is Colonel Bermudez, a former officer of the National Guard who calls himself "Comandante Fierro") conducts the fighting against the Sandinists in the north at the border with Honduras.

The crux of the problem, put into focus for us by Alfonso Robelo, is really the unification of these two coalitions in order to coordinate military activities and political objectives. All attempts in this direction have been thwarted by the intransigence of Eden Pastora. "Comandante Zero" who declares himself to be a "Sandinist forever," has been hostile until now to a fundamental alliance with "those in the north." According to Eden Pastora, if the political leaders of the FDN are generally acceptable (inasmuch as they are men who have had no particular ties to Somoza and his government), one cannot say the same of the military leaders, who are almost all former officers of the National Guard. The National Guard was the establishment that supported the deposed dictatorship. Because of this, "Comandante Zero" fears a contamination which, in his opinion, would destroy his image of "genuine Sandinist." He also fears that the officers of the former National Guard, whom he fought tenaciously, harbor dreams of retaliation.

The concerns of "Comandante Zero" are partially justified but, from what we gathered in our conversation with Robelo, they are also exaggerated. It is

a fact that an organizational process in unification of anti-Sandinist forces (with Eden Pastora side by side with Bermudez and his friends) would lose for the military leader of ARDE what is left of his credibility in the Sandinist rank and file. However, one only has to go to Managua to see what an imposing propaganda effort the government has made to brand Eden Pastora forever as an agent of the CIA, traitor, and ally of the "genocidal National Guard." Looked at in a favorable light, "Comandante Zero," by choosing the route of unification (even if with reservations about autonomy and separateness), gives the anti-Sandinist cause some advantages which far outweigh any speculation made in Managua about his choice. Sandinist propaganda has suggested that this has already happened.

Unification (or at least close coordination between the two coalitions) has become a must dictated by the evolution of the struggle against the Sandinists and by the pressures applied by the United States.

The irony of it all is that Eden Pastora finds himself, 5 years later, in a situation similar in many respects to the one existing at the time when he was fighting against Somoza's National Guard. While the other Sandinist commanders were operating in the northern part of the country, namely in the regions which are today's theater of operations for the FDN, he was limited to the south between the desolate Atlantic region and, on the Pacific, the isthmus of Lake Nicaragua. The isthmus was easily but also splendidly defended by the National Guard, whose leader was an excellent officer who had graduated from the Italian war colleges: Major Salazar (dubbed "Comandante Bravo"). It is the north-central regions which range down toward the Pacific that are the heart of "working Nicaragua." Here are the big cities, industries, the safer ports, and the major part of the modest highway system. The Atlantic region, isolated, covered with forests, with almost nonexistent road connections, inhabited by indigenous populations and by blacks who speak English (a pirate heritage), has had and continues to have a semicolonial status.

However, it is on the axis from north to south, passing through Nueva Segovia Matagalpa and Managua, that the fate of Nicaragua is decided from the military point of view. And in this region the "fuerze de tareas" [sic] (i.e., the FDN combat groups who are active in the major parts of the 25 war zones conceded to exist by the Sandinists themselves), are now continuously in operation. The FDN forces are well-organized, armed, and grouped like a regular army engaged in commando operations. The ARDE forces are still engaged in quite romantic guerilla operations.

Last April, with a surprise attack on the city of San Juan close to the Costa Rican border, "Comandante Zero" wanted to demonstrate that he too could muster a capability for a consistent performance. But he was forced to retreat under the pressure of the Sandinist counterattacks. Now it seems he is preparing new surprise attacks in the inaccessible region of Nueva Guinea, still very close to the Atlantic coast. We found confirmation of this during our visit to the interior area of Nicaragua controlled by ARDE.

Alfonso Robelo maintains that his organization now controls two distinct areas which go from the Atlantic coast towards the interior: one on the border with

Costa Rica and the other one north of the city of Bluefields. An area of 9,000 square kilometers, formed mainly by forests and mountains, is controlled by ARDE. However, ARDE's zone of operations extends to a total of 16,000 square kilometers. The Sandinists are practically in a near state of siege in the Atlantic coastal cities like Bluefields, Prinzapolca, and Puerto Cabezas.

Alfonso Robelo admits that it is not possible to launch decisive actions against the government of Managua if unification of the various organizations is not achieved. This is also true because this situation (in the event, seemingly remote, of their victory) would bring about risks of "Lebanonization" in Nicaragua. "It is a duty," says the political leader of ARDE, "to effect a united democratic opposition. There are some obstacles, but we hope to overcome them soon and that there will be a unification, a convergence which will make our fight more effective against the totalitarian government of Managua. The risk of 'Lebanonization' of Nicaragua is very great."

But what are these expectations in reality? According to Robelo they are real. "We have sent out a call for national unification last 10 January. Its meaning is the coordination of diplomatic and political efforts and the coordination of military actions. There are still some obstacles, Commander Pastora emphasizes the fact that we cannot join an organization which visibly maintains former National Guards in very important positions. Eden Pastora is not against convergence or against unity, but he is opposed to a majority of National Guards in FDN. We hope that this obstacle will be surmounted."

And if Eden Pastora out and out rejects this plan? Alfonso Robelo's answer leaves no doubts as to how ARDE's political brain finds that the unification of anti-Sandinist forces cannot be postponed. "I am fighting for the liberation of Nicaragua and 'Comandante Zero' is my ally. We greatly admire and respect him because he is a democrat and a brave man. I hope that 'Comandante Zero' will not assume an attitude which would be an obstacle to the unification of the forces of Nicaragua. If it should happen that he would assume a different attitude we would have to reevaluate our position within ARDE."

The dilemma that Robelo does not state but makes clearly understood at this time is: Unite or perish. And things being so, the choice is made.

12521

CSO: 3528/101

## MITCHELL DISCUSSES OPPOSITION UNITY, POLITICAL VIEWS

Kingston THE VINCENTIAN in English 1 Jun 84 p 12

[Text] Opposition unity cannot be based on opportunism, it cannot be based on different philosophies. This was one of the many statements made by the member for the Grenadines, James "Son" Mitchell, in an interview on SVG TV with Mike Findlay. Mitchell was responding to a question asked by the interviewer on the possibilities of opposition unity before elections.

In relation to the issue involving the Attorney General Grafton Isaacs who has been found guilty of contempt of court, Mitchell noted that "the Attorney General of any country is one of the symbols of justice, and it's very pathetic when there is a situation that the person who should be an example in respect for the court, ignores the court." Such behaviour, he said, holds our country up to ridicule; and even more so, when the Prime Minister refuses to ask Isaacs to resign."

The Grenadines' representative said that his party the New Democratic Party (NDP) is ready for elections. But the issue at present that concerns the party is the Representation of the People Act and the Registration of Voters. Voters he said are supposed to be registered every three months, this is not being done. He noted that his party has already named 10 candidates.

Mitchell said, that his party is very concerned with the stimulation of growth in our economy. To do this, "the authorities must first address themselves to the factors that influence and build up the confidence in the community. The 3 percent Gross Turnover Tax, which he said is reducing the confidence of the business community, must be removed.

As regards opposition unity, Mitchell said that a political party has to stand on principles whether it wins or loses an election. He does not see the NDP and any other political party holding talks on unity for the upcoming elections. He explained that the other opposition parties are not opposing the government but himself (Mitchell). They are leading the opposition against the opposition. They are not concerned about the poverty, unemployment, the problems of education and sanitation that exist here. They only address themselves to attacking him.

In terms of separating the Grenadines from the mainland, Mitchell said that he has never mentioned or asked for secession. What was asked for however, was

self determination and a referendum on the opinions of the people of the Grenadines. Mitchell said that the accusation made regarding his being a communist is a "Big Joke." He said that he earns his living from his hotel and does not depend on politics. "I am a democrat and believe in democracy," he declared. "Communism emphasizes the control of the means of production in a country and to be a communist relates to one's philosophy of life." He also endorsed his belief in "the principles of change and opportunity for all."

St. Vincent, Mitchell said, needs a social change and more educational opportunities, beginning from the primary level. Business needs to be stimulated and a land reform policy in the country to help people to own more property needs to be upgraded. Such changes are only possible if authorities (1) recognise the problem (2) stop being lethargic and (3) adopt a serious approach.

The interview on SVG TV was made possible through the sponsorship of Bonadie's Supermarket.

CSO: 3298/912



## UPM CALLS FOR INDEPENDENT OVERSIGHT OF ELECTION

Georgetown MIRROR in English 13 May 84 p 3

[Text] The United People's Movement (UPM) has called for an independent electoral Commission to oversee the upcoming general elections in St. Vincent. That party has also raised certain crucial questions concerning the recently enacted Representation of People's Act and expressed fears that persons would be disenfranchised.

The UPM led by General Secretary Oscar Allen has announced that it will be contesting outside of any alliance. This resulted in a failure of the opposition parties to form an electoral alliance to fight the ruling St. Vincent Labour Party of Prime Minister Milton Cato. The UPM which held several meetings to discuss the situation concluded that it would be advantageous to that party to contest the elections.

Though campaigning has started, the actual date for elections has not been announced and observers feel that Milton Cato may decide on an early date. Several right-wing regimes in the Caribbean have been calling snap elections after the Grenada invasion.

In Antigua, where the opposition parties, including the Antiguan Caribbean Liberation Movement led by Tim Hector, failed to hammer out a common electoral platform, the 75 year-old Prime Minister, Vere Bird, was returned to office. It is believed that the divisions within the opposition helped the Antigua Labour Party of Vere Bird to receive a bigger majority of seats at a time when its popularity is waning. A large section of the voting population stayed away from the polls.

There are signs that Cato in St. Vincent is gearing for early elections as the ruling party launches out on hurried voters registration and frantic election gimmicks. The left UPM, while participating in the elections is currently explaining to Vincentians that Democracy is not only casting of ballots every five years.

CSO: 3298/912

## CATO HIT FOR IGNORING SCANDAL INVOLVING ATTORNEY GENERAL

Kingstown THE VINCENTIAN in English 1 Jun 84 p 2

[From Ken John column "This Week--An Independent Opinion"]

[Text] There can be little doubt that the Cato Government is seriously embarrassed by the willful contempt of court committed by its own Attorney-General, of all persons. With typical arrogance, bluster and bravado, however, the Government has chosen to proceed with business as usual, as if the contempt never happened. Perhaps the reasoning born of experience is that the people have short memories and once the initial storm is weathered it will all blow away like so many other Seven Days Wonders.

Meanwhile, Labour Party Chairperson, Renee Baptiste, broadcast over T.V. news that the Government claimed it could not react to "unconfirmed reports," when the Vincentian public knew that Grafton Isaacs had heard the ruling of the Privy Council with his own ears and passed on its message to Cato. In fact, according to "Justice" newspaper, our Prime Minister stood by Grafton's side at a Labour Party meeting at Clare Valley at which the Attorney-General boasted that he had no intention whatever of resigning over the issue. Moreover, Isaacs, in extremely poor taste, reportedly exulted over the deaths of Mr Justice Eardley Glasgow, who had granted the injunction against him, and Eardley Stephens who acted as solicitor in launching the appeal that led to Isaacs' conviction. Labour's top brass on the platform took all that in with aplomb, adding gross insult to grave injury.

Instead of addressing themselves to this most burning issue of the day, Labourites have decided studiously to ignore it while sidetracking public opinion on to a handy decoy, the Grenadines Declaration which briefly hit the headlines almost exactly four years ago. Talk about flogging a dead horse to death!

CSO: 3298/912

GOVERNMENT PROVIDES MORE DETAILS ON CARICOM TRADE ISSUE

Position at Antigua Talks

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 14 Jun 84 p 1

[Article by Clevon Raphael]

[Text] Caricom countries are looking at the feasibility of intra-trading in certain items, excluding countries outside the region.

A list of the items being investigated was reportedly drawn up at the recently concluded special Caricom Council of Ministers meeting held in Antigua, which dealt mainly with the protracted problem of the trade imbalance in Caribbean.

Another outcome of the two-day discussions was that the region had to take a serious look at the countertrade system (bartering) like the rest of the world, in order to get over the difficulties imposed by scarce financial resources.

Trinidad and Tobago was represented at the Antigua talks by Industry and Commerce Minister Desmond Cartey; Adviser to the Minister, Mr Cecil Wyke and an officer in the Ministry of External Affairs.

It was reported that this country's position with regard to the imposition of import restrictions was more clearly understood than in the past.

A reliable source explained yesterday:

"Trinidad and Tobago's position was that in the interest of regional unity and cooperation we were not on a retaliatory course but simply we have to protect our manufacturers from what has already been described as the clear untenable position of allowing wholesale imports of goods that are manufactured here.

"And Trinidad and Tobago's products were not enjoying that spirit reciprocity... our market was the clear target and this could not go on indefinitely."

The TRINIDAD GUARDIAN was not able to get a copy of the list yesterday but sources speculated that the items could include electronic equipment, furniture and refrigerators all of which are manufactured in the region.

## Feasibility Study

"The results of that feasibility study are expected to be ready in time for the Caribbean Heads of Government conference next month in the Bahamas

"Based in the findings, more items will be included, meaning that only under unusual circumstances would importation of those items from outside the region be allowed."

On the countertrade proposals, the source said this was already established in other larger countries and the Caribbean was fast approaching the stage where this would have to be done here.

The source added:

"Trinidad and Tobago has products like steel rods and other items from the Point Lisas industrial complex which can be used in such an arrangement.

"Regional countries are well placed to exploit each other and the only disadvantage would be that the second country must need what you have to offer.

"Other than that, it is an acceptable way of doing business and this is one way to effectively tackle the lack of foreign exchange being experienced in some countries as you will be trading in commodities not with hard cash.

"Counter-trading is assuming a very significant role in world trade and it is also being used to deal with the problems created by the great disparities in the economies."

Counter-trade would never replace ordinary trade but it would complement it, the source said.

Trinidad and Tobago, the source said, even though stating its case very clearly in Antigua, would not--at least as yet--follow Jamaica and dismantle its import restrictions.

The source explained:

"It is all very well and good for Jamaica to do perhaps they can afford to do that. We are waiting to see what effects this would have, but it is difficult to trade with Jamaica as a result of their financial regulations.

"The bulk of our trade is not done with Jamaica and as long as the trade restrictions continue to work against this country we cannot dismantle our restrictions.

"Trinidad and Tobago left no doubt in Antigua about our ability to withstand the pressures of increasing adverse trade balances.

"Clearly, some of the stipulations in the Rules of Origin need to be changed and the results of the review are being awaited anxiously by all concerned."

## Cartey on Reciprocity

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 15 Jun 84 p 1

[Article by Clevon Raphael]

[Text] Industry and Commerce Minister Desmond Cartey has reiterated that Trinidad and Tobago was proceeding with vigour and determination to the attainment of an equitable reciprocity in our trade relationships with our Caricom partners.

Minister Cartey, who was addressing the audience at a function marking the awarding of a franchise to Mico Garment Factory to manufacture Van Heusen shirts and slacks, said Government was aware that to export was not easy, for a market must first be found in order to do so, "and we all knew that trade in both the Caricom and extra-Caricom markets has some inherent problems."

He told his Holiday Inn audience:

"Furthermore, without going into any details, we are fully aware that our goods must meet international standards in order to compete in those highly competitive markets.

"We all appreciate the fierce competition which exists in the export market for garments; of which the Caricom market is no exception.

### Target Market

"Indeed, Trinidad and Tobago suffers the disadvantage of being the target market for virtually all the garments produced in member states, while being deprived, for various reasons, of opportunities for the penetration of these markets.

"This is a situation which cannot be allowed to exist indefinitely and you may be assured that this country is proceeding with vigour and determination to the attainment of an equitable reciprocity in our trade relations with our Caricom partners."

He continued: "Fortunately for this country, our shirts, especially conventional shirts, are already recognised as being of high standard of construction and style.

"The advent of our locally produced Van Heusen shirts will have a significant effect in enhancing our reputation in this regard, and improving our export prospects in large measure.

"It is for this reason I am pleased for here is a company that has not only obtained the licence to manufacture this well-known brand of shirts and slacks in Trinidad and Tobago, but it has also obtained the right to be the exclusive supplier of these garments to certain Caricom and non-Caricom countries as well."

FOREIGN MINISTER SCORES 'NEW IMPERIALISM' OF MEDIA

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 15 Jun 84 p 1

[Article by Vashty Maharaj]

[Text] Minister of External Affairs Senator Dr Basil Ince, has hit out at "the new imperialism of cultural control and psychological dominance" manifested in the one-way flow of media materials from the developed to the developing world.

Dr Ince was delivering the formal opening address at the two-day Professional Development Symposium taking place as part of the Spring Meeting of the International Public Relations Association. The meeting is being held at the Trinidad Hilton and attended by a number of public relations persons from around the world.

The Minister spoke of the "gradual shrinking of the world in which we live, in which developments in communication technology have brought the world closer together and seen the emergency of a group of problems that are international rather than national, global rather than regional."

In outlining some of the international problems that all countries share, from disarmament to the food problem to drug abuse, he felt that the most important of these was "the new imperialism or what is manifested, all too frequently, in picture tube imperialism."

Difficult Task

Trinidad and Tobago was granted Independence on August 31, 1962, he noted, and countries who went through such ceremonies realised that political independence was not true independence. "As stated by the late Prime Minister, Dr Williams, we were a State but not yet a nation and the job of creating a nation out of the State was a very difficult task.

"We all worked hard at severing the one-way ties that bound us financially, administratively and commercially to the metropole. The psychological ties are deeper and require more work--and many of us have all come to terms with the good and the bad among the influences that made us what we are.

"Unfortunately, we did not guard enough against the other, more iniquitous, more pervasive influence--that of the mass media, controlled and directed by

the same metropolitan countries, monopolised by them and flowing in a one way torrent from them to us.

"Those of us who thought we had got rid of the old imperialism of territorial control and physical dominance were not vigilant enough against the new imperialism of cultural control and psychological dominance. This new imperialism is manifested in the one-way flow of media materials from the developed to the developing world. It is compounded by the dependence of local mass media organisations on foreign sources for most of their material."

Although the advertising and marketing people know of us, he said, the news department and, therefore, the public, "only know of our existence after disasters or calamities."

Guyana is Jonestown, he said, Grenada is coup and counter-coup, India is "bloody rioting" and "the rest of us are lumped together as Banana Republics lazing in manana land."

"Here at home the process of national development becomes increasingly, if not incredibly, difficult, exacerbated by the inability of the society to pursue national rather than individual goals and complicated by the massive cultural borrowing from the metropolises.

"The children of manana land are growing up on Sesame Street.

"They look outwards for the fulfillment of their desires and the achievement of their goals, to other lands rather than their own land, to other people rather than themselves."

According to Dr Ince, fortunately the mass media are not the sole agents of opinion change, nor are they as important as inter-personal relations and face-to-face interaction in changing deeply held views and attitudes.

Unfortunately, he noted, one of the by-products of progress was the increasing use of mass media and the decrease in inter-personal interaction.

"We are faced with the death of community in the old sense of the world, and there is no real community in all the new communities that are now emerging.

#### Soul Searching

"Although all the research on mass media effects point to a multiple step flow of media knowledge as it percolates through the masses and is translated into behaviour, modern societies and organisations continue to ignore the people and many governments are facing the traumas of expending a lot of money, time and effort into improving their communications machinery but are still not reaching the people."

Dr Ince told the public relations members that if they must play a meaningful role in communication and development, both nationally and internationally,

then this requires a great deal of soul searching, and he put a number of questions which he said they should ask themselves.

"There is a need for new imperatives to counter the new imperialism and to face the realities of the global village," he told them, stating that both as individuals and public relations professionals, they had a responsibility that went beyond the narrow confines of job and client.

CSO: 3298/913



GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL HITS U.S. PROTECTIONIST MEASURES

Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 1 Jun 84 p 8

[Text] Port-of-Spain (GNA)--A senior Government official in Trinidad and Tobago has hit out against the protectionist measures introduced by the U.S. Congress, saying they were intended to worsen the economic situation in the region.

Acting Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs Christopher Thomas said while the US authorities have a responsibility to their manufacturers, they also have a responsibility to the wider hemisphere and to the preservation of free trade.

Thomas, (a former High Commissioner to Guyana) was addressing a technical meeting of the Inter-American Executive Committee for Economic Affairs in Port-of-Spain Wednesday.

He said without free trade, the chances for regional, political, economic and social stability are remote. The \$350 billion (US) debt of Latin America and the Caribbean, he added, threatens the entire financial structure of the Western Hemisphere.

Thomas also described the measures being adopted to deal with this debt problem as mere short-term palliatives which do little or nothing to correct the fundamental imbalances afflicting countries of the region.

Total co-operation among developed and developing countries was essential for the resolution of the debt problem, Thomas said.

CSO: 3298/941

LABOR UNREST KEEPS MAHABIR FROM GENEVA MEETING

Canceled ILO Appearance

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 14 Jun 84 p 1

[Article by Mikey Mahabir]

[Text] San Fernando: Minister of Labour, Social Security and Cooperatives, Mr Errol Mahabir, has cancelled a visit to Geneva where he was due to address the three-week International Labour Organisation conference.

Mr Mahabir took this decision because of the present industrial climate in Trinidad.

The Minister had been selected to lead the Trinidad and Tobago Government team at the talks which started on Monday.

Asked yesterday why he was not attending the conference, Mr Mahabir said: "I could not attend the conference because of the present industrial climate in the country." He confirmed that the Government's team is being led by Mr Astil Salandy, his Permanent Secretary.

Also being represented at the ILO conference are the Trinidad and Tobago Labour Congress and the Employers Consultative Association. It is understood that Mr Vernon Glean and Mr Nathaniel Crichlow are representing the Congress, while Mr Emile de la Grenade is one of the ECA's representatives.

Talks with TCL

Mr Mahabir is currently engaged in trying to settle the wage negotiations deadlock between the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union and Texaco Trinidad Inc., including the dismissal of certain workers by the company.

His crowded programme also includes Trinidad Cement Limited (TCL) and Amoco Trinidad Oil Company Limited.

Yesterday, Mr Mahabir met with officials of TCL at his San Fernando office and discussed the question of reclassification of workers following which the company agreed to accept a proposal put forward by him.

The proposal will also be put to the OWTU, most likely today, for the union's consideration.

Meanwhile, the Minister confirmed that he has summoned Amoco to a meeting fixed for today to discuss matters relating to the present industrial climate at Point Galeota.

#### End to Military Protection

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 13 Jun 84 p 1

[Text] San Fernando: Normalcy returned at Texaco's Pointe-a-Pierre bond over the weekend with the withdrawal of the protective services.

It was learnt yesterday that members of the protective services--Regiment Coast Guard and Police--handed back the road tank wagons and other vehicles to National Petroleum Marketing Company Limited over the weekend.

They had taken control of deliveries of petroleum products for about 23 days during the labour unrest between Texaco Trinidad Inc. and the Oilfields Workers Trade Union.

The protective services were brought on the scene to deliver petroleum products when the Minister of Labour, Mr Errol Mahabir, intervened in accordance with the Trade Ordinance.

Oilworkers at Texaco and NPMC had withheld their labour, resulting in lack of deliveries of gasoline in particular to service stations, mainly in Central and South Trinidad.

The road tank wagon drivers were lending support to the Texaco workers who were calling for a settlement in their current wage negotiations with Texaco.

Over the 23 days of operations by members of the protective services, an average of 115,000 gallons of premium gasoline a day came out from the Pointe-a-Pierre bond and an average of 50,000 gallons of aviation jet fuel sent out to Piarco. Deliveries of an average of 40,000 gallons of diesolene a day were also made during that period, it was learnt.

Officials concerned had high praise for the efficient manner in which members of the protective services handled the situation during the crisis.

#### Rival Union Cooperation

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 15 Jun 84 p 1

[Text] One of the member unions of the Council of Progressive Trade Unions (CPTU), the Bank and General Workers Union (BGWU) will join members of the rival Trinidad and Tobago Labour Congress to observe Labour Day in Port-of-Spain.

This was announced yesterday by BGWU's Education Officer, Mr Wade Mark.

Explaining the surprise position taken by his union, Mr Mark explained that it was a matter of principle since a commitment was made to hold the 1984 celebration in the country's capital.

He explained: "In 1982 the Labour Congress and CPTU convened joint celebrations at Fyzabad. It was agreed in principle that in 1983 it would have been in Port-of-Spain."

"In 1983 joint celebrations were held in Fyzabad. In that year a commitment was made to hold the 1984 observances in Port-of-Spain.

BGWU officials maintain that they "cannot afford not to be held by our word in 1984."

In addition, union officials feel that the trade union movement needs to be strengthened in the North.

In an official statement on the issue it was explained. "Workers in the South are apparently prepared to conduct serious struggle. We need to win and convert the North-based workers from Sangre Grande to Carenage--not only in the East/West Corridor, but in the port, public utilities, the public services, banks and other services."

CSO: 3298/914

## HUDSON-PHILLIPS UNDECIDED ABOUT COURT ROLE IN GRENADA

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 15 Jun 84 p 1

[Text] Mr Karl Hudson-Phillips, S.C., returns to Grenada today to discuss with the Grenadian authorities the invitation extended to him to join the prosecution team in the charges arising out of the incidents of October 1983, which included the killing of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

In disclosing this to the news media yesterday morning, Mr Hudson-Phillips, Political Leader of the Organisation for National Reconstruction (ONR), said he had not yet decided on whether to accept the brief.

Mr Hudson-Phillips, who said it would be improper for anyone to read "political gains" into him being part of a Caribbean team of lawyers which the Grenada interim administration was putting together to prosecute the cases, said the matter had assumed international importance.

## World Watching

He elaborated:

"The whole world is watching to see how we in the Caribbean will deal with this kind of situation which as you know, is unique to us in this part of the world.

"The case is very important in that it would demonstrate to the outside world that we in the Caribbean are committed to the rule of law and the democratic way of life."

Mr Hudson-Phillips, who spoke at the headquarters of the ONR in the presence of other ONR officers, said he made it clear that the defendants must be given all the necessary facilities for getting a fair trial.

If he accepted the brief it would be necessary for him to be joined by other local lawyers and he would be in Grenada for about three days.

Mr Hudson-Phillips, a former Attorney General of Trinidad and Tobago, told the Press representatives that he discussed the invitation with his professional colleagues and the National Executive of the ONR.

He declined to say if they advised him to accept or refuse the invitation.

Mr Hudson-Phillips, who gave the Press representatives some highlights of his legal career, made it clear that he was not looking into the case with "emotion" because of his Grenadian antecedents.

"We have to look at it dispassionately because what has happened in Grenada concerns all of us as West Indians."

CSO: 3298/913

PANDAY QUESTIONS GOVERNMENT ON GUYANA, OTHER DEBTS, LOANS

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 14 Jun 84 p 3

[Text] How much money is Guyana owing Trinidad and Tobago?

That's the question Prime Minister Mr George Chambers has been asked to answer by Mr Basdeo Panday, Leader of the Opposition.

Mr Panday has filed the question with the Clerk of the House of Representatives for placing on the Order Paper (agenda) of the June 29 sitting of the Lower House.

The Opposition chief also wants Mr Chambers to give details of what sums constituted cash loans, amounts owed on oil credit facility, other securities and facilities.

Mr Panday further asks:

"Would the Prime Minister say what, if any, sanctions the Government of Trinidad and Tobago has taken or intends to take against Guyana in order to persuade the Government of that country to end racism and violations of human rights and freedoms?"

Agriculture Minister Kamaluddin Mohammed has been asked by Mr Panday to say how many applications for state lands are still pending, giving the dates of such applications.

The Opposition member for St. Augustine, Mr John Humphrey, has asked Housing and Resettlement Minister, Senator Wendell Mottley, to give the following information dealing with the Paradise Housing Project at Morvant constructed by Wimpey.

A copy of the final accounts, the names of the consultants for the project, the amount of monies paid and/or owing to each of them, the total number of each unit constructed and the type of each unit, whether the project is complete: if so, how long has it been completed and whether Wimpey has been paid in full if not why not?

Mr Trevor Sudama (Opposition-Oropouche) has asked Senator John Eckstein, Minister of Public Utilities and National Transportation: "Could the Minister state whether his Ministry has devised a policy with respect to self help projects for the laying of minor mains involving community effort and financing?"

"If the answer is in the affirmative, could he state what is that policy?"

CSO: 3298/913



## BRIEFS

TOBAGO VISIT FOR CHAMBERS--Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, Mr George Chambers, will be paying an extended working visit to Tobago. During the visit which will be interrupted for him to attend Cabinet and parliamentary meetings in Trinidad, Mr Chambers, who is also Minister of Finance and Planning, will be working from the Ministry's office on Jerningham Street, Scarborough. This announcement from the Ministry of Information yesterday did not state when the tour would actually start but one source anticipated it could commence from next weekend. The Ministry's statement added: "He (Mr Chambers) will be looking at developmental works and government projects. Mr Chambers will also be making contact with the community at all levels and with various organisations; the Small Businessmen Association, the Chamber of Industry and Commerce village councils, community groups and service organisations. Mr Chambers will also take the opportunity to visit schools." The Prime Minister will be residing at his official residence Blenheim for the duration of his visit. [Text] [Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 15 Jun 84 p 1]

CSO: 3298/914

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